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Joanna Steinman

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A Comparative Historical Analysis of the Old Order Amish  
of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania

Joanna L. Steinman

In submission for the 2005  
Donald T. Campbell Social Science Research Prizes

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## Abstract

Using a comparative historical methodology, this thesis seeks to answer the question: How have the Old Order Amish of Lancaster County managed to remain a distinct and flourishing group? The Amish are compared to three other similar groups, the Ephrata cloister community, the Amana villages, and the Hutterites, in order to determine what factors are necessary to a successful group. The groups are researched by analyzing existing archival materials. Final analysis supports that the following factors must be present in a successful group: use of a historical text, social isolation, ties to the land, not relying on converts for new membership, encouraging marriage, and encouraging children.

## Introduction

Sociologists predicted 50 years ago that the Amish would soon be absorbed into the larger society of the United States (Hostetler 1993). This prediction turned out to be in error; the Amish population has in fact tripled since 1950 (Hostetler 1993:viii). In this thesis, I will attempt to answer the question: How have the Old Order Amish of Lancaster County managed to remain a distinct and flourishing group? This question has been asked many times, and usually the same reasons are given, some of which are: distinctive dialect, distinctive dress, assimilation of new members who already exist in their community (children of members), and strong attachment to the land (Hostetler 1964).

In my thesis, I make cross comparisons between the Old Order Amish of Lancaster County and three other communities: the Ephrata cloister community (The Spiritual Order of The Solitary), the Amana villages (*Gemeinde der Wahren-Inspiration*/Society of True Inspiration), and the Hutterites (*Hutterischen Brüderhof*). The “old order” distinction is important because it distinguishes this particular group of Amish from other Amish groups, such as the New Order Amish and Beachey Amish. The New Order Amish and Beachey Amish are generally less plain in dress than the Old Order Amish, and permit their members to use modern technology to a greater degree than the Old Order Amish (Kraybill 2001). For simplicity’s sake, from this point on, when I refer to “the Amish” I am referring to the “Old Order Amish.”

The Amish of Lancaster County and Ephrata cloister were located in roughly the same place (Lancaster County, PA), during roughly the same time (the 18<sup>th</sup> century), with practices drawn from some of the same theological traditions (such as adult baptism).

However, the Ephrata were communal, whereas the Amish were and are not. This led me to involve the Amana for comparison, who were another communal group. The Ephrata and Amana were both by my definition unsuccessful, which led me to involve the Hutterites, a communal group that has been by my definition successful, as the Amish have, in maintaining their distinctive way of life.

In my thesis, I define a successful group as one that is still viable and recognizable at this present date. I have chosen to analyze both successful and unsuccessful groups in order to better determine what factors have led to the success of the Amish. Two of my comparison groups, the Amish and Hutterites, are successful groups. The remaining two groups, the Ephrata and Amana, are unsuccessful groups. I analyze these groups by comparing specific factors that I believe may be important to maintaining a successful group.

**Illustration 1 - Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.** Accessed on March 20, 2005, from <http://www.amishcountryinns.com/chlocation.html>



In her work on communes and utopian societies, Kanter defines a successful group as one that existed as a commune or utopian society for at least 25 years, what

sociologists define as a generation (Kanter 1972). This is my major criticism of her work: how she could state by her definition that other groups, such as the Amana, are successful, when they only remained a distinct community for a fraction of the time that the Hutterites have. The Hutterites have been in existence since the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and immigrated to North America in the 1870s. I also question her choice in the timeframe of her analysis (1780 to 1860), because it deliberately ignores the success of the Hutterites. Kanter, like other authors, ignores the success of the Hutterites in her analysis, as if it is something that cannot be explained or will invalidate her explanations as to what is important for a successful group.

The literature I have reviewed about my comparison groups has given me a list of testable hypotheses as to what factors are important in maintaining a successful group. This list is based on both the answers other authors have given for the success of the Amish, as well as factors I noticed that groups did or did not share and, through the course of my research, occurred to me might be important. Under the subheading of theological beliefs I have listed adult baptism and Pietism. Under historical contexts I have listed having been persecuted in Europe, having emigrated as a group, and using a historical text. Under cultural practices I have listed language, dress, education, and isolation. Under economic practices I have listed ties to the land and community of goods. And finally, under membership practices I have listed relying on converts, encouraging or discouraging marriage and families, and having a form of *Rumspringa*. *Rumspringa* is the time in a young Amish person's life, beginning around age 16 and ending with the decision to become baptized, when Amish youth are allowed to "sow wild oats (Kraybill 2001)."

My comparison groups sometimes share factors with the Amish: for example, all four groups wore or wear some kind of distinctive garment that set them apart from non-members. All four of these groups hold a passage from the book of Romans (12:2, King James version) to be core to their beliefs: “Be not conformed to this world, but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind that ye may prove what is that good and acceptable and perfect will of God (Hostetler 1993).” Following from this passage, each group believes that they must be “strangers in a strange land,” and keep separate from “the World.” In other words, they must be separate from the dominant culture, which they believe is full of sin. Other times, they do not share the same factors: the Ephrata (Alderfer 1985) and Amana (Andelson 1981), for example, did not have strong ties to an agricultural way of life in nearly the same capacity that the Amish do.

What I have found in my final analysis is that the use of a historical text, social isolation, ties to the land, not relying on converts for new membership, encouraging marriage, and encouraging children are present in successful groups, and not present in unsuccessful groups. My methodology, based on Mills’ case-oriented comparative methods, concludes from comparative analysis that these are causal factors for maintaining a successful group. These factors, when present in a group, create powerful boundaries between group members and non-members. It is these boundaries that finally determine whether or not a group will be successful. I am not the first sociologist to recognize the importance of boundaries in maintaining a successful group. Kanter (1972) states that strong groups tend to have strong boundaries – physical, social, and behavioral. Permeable boundaries, which are boundaries that are open and permit movement across them, can be detrimental to maintaining a successful group (Kanter

1972). All of my factors of analysis contribute to these strong boundaries, though through analysis I conclude that some factors, such as not relying on converts to perpetuate the group, help construct stronger boundaries than others, such as wearing a distinctive form of dress or speaking a distinctive language.

My analysis of these unique religious groups is not one that is only limited to such groups. Much like Kanter, my analysis can be generalized to the question of what factors help to maintain a successful group or community. From her analysis, Kanter (1968; 1972) draws three aspects of creating commitment to a group: continuation, group cohesiveness, and social control. Each of my factors of analysis can be categorized into one of these three aspects. I believe that these factors can be applied to other groups, religious or not, in helping to analyze what leads to group success or failure. These can not only be applied to analyses of other groups, but also perhaps by groups that wish to maintain success as a group.

### Methodology

My methodology is based upon the case-oriented comparative method as described by Ragin (1987). The case-oriented strategy is built upon the methodology of John Stuart Mill's (Ragin 1987) method of agreement and indirect method of difference. The method of agreement states that if two or more instances of a phenomenon under investigation have only one of several possible causal circumstances in common, then the circumstance in which all the instances agrees is the cause of the phenomenon of interest. Using this method, I have investigated instances where a "specific phenomenon" occurred (the success of a group).

However, Mill cautioned against liberal use of the method of agreement and suggested that investigators use experimental designs whenever possible, such as the indirect method of difference. The indirect method of difference is a double application of the method of agreement. This method investigates not only instances of a specific phenomenon, but also instances where the specific phenomenon did not occur (Ragin 1987). I have also investigated instances where the “specific phenomenon” of groups successful in growing and maintaining their distinctive way of life did not occur, so-called “negative cases” (the Ephrata and Amana). If the hypothesis that distinctive dress is important to the success of a group is true, then I should find that distinctive dress is a present factor in successful groups, but not present in unsuccessful groups. Factors shared (or not shared) in common by these four groups, compared to their successes and failures as groups, have allowed me to determine by comparison what elements have led the Amish to be such a successful group.

To put it more simply, the method of agreement states that similar outcomes probably have a similar cause; the method of difference states that dissimilar outcomes must have at least one dissimilar condition to account for that difference (Wickham-Crowley 1992). In this thesis, I take factors that have previously been concluded to the question of how the Amish have managed to remain a distinct and flourishing group, along with factors I feel may also be important, and analyze them across the four groups. I look for where these factors occur in a group, and where they do not occur, compared to the success or failure of a group.

While social scientists have attempted to pinpoint what has enabled the Amish to be successful group, the literature on the subject is still lacking. Literature on the Amish

falls into two categories, the first of which is literature of the variety of what Campbell (1975) calls a single case study approach:

The caricature of the single case study approach which I have had in mind consists of an observer who notes a single striking characteristic of a culture, and then has available all of the other differences on all other variables to search through in finding an explanation. He may have very nearly all of the causal concepts in his language on which to draw. That he will find an “explanation” that seems to fit perfectly becomes inevitable, through his total lack of “degrees of freedom” (179).

The second variety is literature that makes comparisons of like groups. Specifically, Kraybill and Bowman (2001) falls into this category, as it is an analysis that looks at four successful groups in order to determine why groups are successful; this particular piece of literature is reminiscent of the method of agreement. Most of the literature published on successful groups does not make reference to unsuccessful groups. Further, literature on the unsuccessful groups does not mention successful ones.

For my research, I have used existing historical material to analyze and compare the Amish, Ephrata, Amana, and Hutterites. Using this material, I make comparative historical analyses using the case-oriented method. Given that the large majority of literature about the success of the Amish relies on single case studies, I believe it is important to make my analyses using the comparative method. Wickham-Crowley (1992) states that the purpose of comparative analysis is not simply to compare for the sake of comparison itself, that is, simply to describe the similarities and differences among various societies (cases). Our comparisons instead should have some analytical “bite” to them, to instruct us theoretically concerning the varying outcomes that intrigue us (12).



My analysis goes farther than other analyses that have come before it; I not only compare the Amish to another successful group (the Hutterites), but also to a group no longer in existence (the Ephrata) and a group that has, for the most part, lost its distinctiveness (the Amana).

### Background Information on the Comparison Groups

#### *The Amish of Lancaster County*

The Amish are descendants of the followers of Jakob Ammann. Ammann was a Mennonite leader in Switzerland who, because of his desire to see members lead a more orthodox way of life, led his followers in a successful break away from the Swiss Mennonites between the years 1693 and 1697 (Hostetler 1964). The majority of the Amish immigrated to the New World in two waves – between 1727 and 1756 to Pennsylvania, and from 1820 to 1860 to Ontario, Illinois, Ohio, and Iowa (Hostetler 1964). Recent estimations number the Amish population at 180,000, contained in some 1,300 Amish congregations in 24 of the US states and Ontario (Kraybill 2001:14). It is estimated that in 1880, the Lancaster County, Pennsylvania settlement was comprised of six church districts, which contained 750 people (Kraybill 2001:335). Today, the Lancaster County settlement is the oldest Amish settlement in North America, numbering some 22,000 children and adults (Kraybill 2001:16). The Amish are extinct in Europe (Kraybill 2001). More than 90% of Amish children join the church as adults (Kraybill 2001).

#### *The Ephrata cloister community*

The Ephrata cloister community was organized in 1732 by Conrad Beissel (Frantz 1976). Beissel was a German immigrant who became an established leader among the

German Baptist Brethren, also known as the Dunkards (Doll 1951). He became the leader of a Dunkard congregation in Conestoga, which is located in present-day Lancaster County, Pennsylvania (Whitney 1966). Dissatisfied with the Dunkards over issues such as his views on the superiority of celibacy and the observance of the seventh day (Saturday) as the Sabbath according to Jewish law (Whitney 1966), Beissel left the Dunkard Church and took his considerable following with him (Frantz 1976).

Beissel established his cloister on the banks of the Cocalico creek in the Conestoga region of Pennsylvania (Frantz 1976). Known as the Spiritual Order of The Solitary (Whitney 1966), members were organized into three groups – a celibate Brotherhood, a celibate Sisterhood, and a congregation of married couples, or Householders (Doll 1951). The cloisters practiced a community of goods, meaning that all members shared all property communally (Bennett 1967). Celibate members wore distinctive garments (Frantz 1976). The Ephrata community was at its population peak between 1745 and 1755, with membership reaching approximately 300 Householders and celibates (Bach 2003). The Ephrata cloisters did not outlive the founding members (Freed 1957). By the 1780s, most of the distinctive forms of communal life had passed away (Doll 1951). By 1797, the solitary orders had met their effective, if not official, demise (Alderfer 1985). The last Ephrata Sister died in 1813; after this, the remaining Householders were recognized as the German Seventh-Day Baptist Church in 1814 (Bach 2003). In 1934 this congregation dissolved (Bach 2003; Whitney 1966).

#### *The Amana villages*

The Amana villages, whose members were called the Society of True Inspiration (*Gemeinde der Wahren-Inspiration*) or Inspirationists, prospered in southeastern Iowa

from 1856 to 1932 (Barthel 1989). The sect was founded in present-day Germany in 1714 (Andelson 1981). After many years of persecution in their native land, the Inspirationists immigrated to the United States in the years between 1843 and 1846, originally settling in New York State (Cavan 1978). It was during this immigration period in which they first adopted a “community of goods” in order to purchase sufficient land and materials for their needs and to pay the passage of members in Germany who had not yet joined them (Andelson 1981; Cavan 1978). Although this community of goods had its origins in economic dependence, leaders quickly sanctified it using Scripture (Andelson 1981). In the 1850s the Inspirationists resettled in the State of Iowa (Cavan 1978). The Amana villages consisted of seven semiautonomous villages set on 26,000 contiguous acres on either side of the Iowa River in Iowa County (Andelson 1981). Villages varied in size, the smallest having 100 residents and the largest having 400 (Andelson 1981:113). The total population fluctuated around 1,700 individuals (Andelson 1981:113). Though marriage was permitted among members of the Society, they taught that celibacy was the preferred state (Sill 1988). The Amana congregation was divided up into three spiritual orders. The First *Versammlung* (translates to “meeting” in English) was comprised of the oldest members of the community, provided that their lives had been righteous and godly. The Second, or Middle, *Versammlung*, was for the younger adults, and the Third, or *Kinder Versammlung*, was for the children (Chaffee 1927). Those members who married were demoted to the lowest class in the congregation (Sill 1988).

In 1932, after much tension within the community, the communal way of life was abandoned at Amana, and the Society was dissolved into two corporations: the Amana

Church Society, which functioned in a religious capacity, and the Amana Society, which functioned in a business capacity (Andelson 1981; Barthel 1989; Cavan 1978). After this “Great Change” of 1932, with the relaxation of church doctrine, the Society quickly adopted many activities of “the World,” such as ownership of automobiles (Barthel 1989). There has been a considerable shift over the years in the village’s member population (Cavan 1978). In 1932, there were 1,365 people living on Amana land, with 950 of these people members of the church (Cavan 1978:96). By 1970, residents of the same area equaled 1,717, with 720 of these people members of the church (Cavan 1978:96).

### *The Hutterites*

The Hutterites are named for their martyred leader, Jakob Hutter (Miller and Stephenson 1980). Their group originated in the 1520s in Switzerland, and was persecuted throughout Europe, as they moved from Switzerland to Moravia (now Czech Republic), Hungary, Romania, Russia, and finally the United States and Canada (Huffman 2000). It is estimated that there were approximately 35,000 Hutterites living in Moravia during the late 1500s; only 350 Hutterites remained practicing their lifestyle when they immigrated to the United States in the late 1800s (Diener 1974:604). These 350 people comprised about fifty Hutterite families who settled in three villages (Eaton 1951), representing 18 surnames, four of which have since died out (Ingoldsby 2001:378).

Today, the Hutterites total somewhere between 36,000 to about 45,000 members living in some 400 colonies (Ingoldsby 2001:377-378). When a colony has become sufficiently large, it divides into two colonies, a mother colony and a daughter colony.

This occurs approximately every 15 to 20 years, when the mother colony reaches a population of between 150 to 175 members (Olsen 1987:824) (Huffman 2000:549 cites the fission numbers as between 120 and 130). In 16<sup>th</sup> century Europe, Hutterite colonies were much larger, with membership ranging from as few as 400 people to as many as 2,000 (Bennett 1975:81). Hutterites now consider these numbers too large for a single colony, and attribute some of their past troubles, such as the disbandment of colonies, to this factor (Bennett 1975). Hutterites today are divided into three *Leut*, or people: Dariusleut, Lehrerleut, and Schmiedeleut (Ingoldsby 2001). These three Leut have been endogamous since 1879, meaning that they do not marry members of other Leuts (Ingoldsby 2001). The Hutterites encourage both marriage and children (Eaton 1952). Hutterites have a defection rate of less than 2% (Bennett 1975).

### *Analysis*

In the following sections, I will compare factors I believe may be important to the success of the Lancaster County Amish to the Ephrata, Amana, and Hutterites. These factors are broken down into five sub-headings: theological beliefs, historical contexts, cultural practices, economic practices, and membership practices. The presence or absence of each factor is noted in a chart at the end of each section, reflected with a “yes” for presence of the particular factor in the group, and “no” for absence of the particular factor in the group. Factors that are present in successful groups and not present in unsuccessful groups, or vice versa, are shaded in the tables. The five tables at the end of the five sections are combined in the conclusion section into one final, all-encompassing table, reflecting all of the factors of analysis presented in this thesis.

## *Theological Beliefs: Adult Baptism and Pietism*

### *Sociological theory.*

Sociologists and social scientists have long acknowledged the importance of religious differences in analysis of the social world. Most notably, Max Weber drew attention to the differences between Catholics and Protestants in regards to occupation, wealth, and income, a result of the generation of the Protestant Ethic from the Protestant Reformation (Kalberg [1920] 2002). Weber shows us that theology can have a real, material impact upon the social world. More modern authors have found that the more demands a religious group makes on its members, the more successful the religious group (Finke 1997; Finke and Stark 2000; Iannaccone 1994). Therefore, I feel it is important to discuss two of the major theological beliefs of my comparison groups, in order to determine if they are factors important to group success: adult baptism and Pietism.

The term *Anabaptist* originated as a nickname meaning “rebaptizer.” Rebaptizing was practiced by adults who felt that baptizing infants could not be supported by Scripture. They argued a person is open to sin only once they understand good and evil (Gen. 3). Since an infant does not understand good and evil, it cannot have sin. Thus, children do not need baptism for the removal of sin. The rejection of infant baptism in favor of adult baptism became a symbol for the Anabaptist movement (Hostetler 1993).

Pietists were called such because they wished to live in simple piety and to have worship be a part of their everyday lives (Barthel 1984). Pietism began in 17<sup>th</sup> century Germany as a reaction against the perceived excessive formality and intellectualism of the German Lutheran Church (Barthel 1989; Carpenter 1975). Members found the formality in churches to be empty, and the inner faith of members to be lacking

(Carpenter 1975). Pietism instead stressed personal religious experiences and devotional practices (Barthel 1989), and called for members to try to improve their lives as Christians and to worship more frequently (Carpenter 1975). The Pietist movement is characterized by four terms: experiential (a personally meaningful relationship with God), perfectionist (commitment, devotion, and zeal of the choicest souls regarded as the norm), Biblical (ethical conduct is based on the New Testament), and oppositive (opposed to the formalism and emphasis of church doctrine) (Carpenter 1975).

#### *The Amish.*

The Amish are an Anabaptist group, meaning they baptize only adults into their church (Loomis and Dyer 1976). The Amish are not a Pietist group.

#### *The Ephrata.*

The Ephrata cloister community practiced the rebaptism of new members who entered the ranks of their solitary orders. In fact, after times of crisis when the need for cleansing was felt by the community, members were often baptized again and again (Bach 2003). They practiced baptism of confessed adults who wanted to become members (Bradley 2000). In present literature, members of Beissel's church are also referred to as Seventh-day German Baptist Brethren (Doll 1951). The Ephrata were a Pietist group (Frantz 1976).

#### *The Amana.*

The Amana believed in the sufficiency of baptism by spirit rather than by water; they did not practice baptism with water for infants or any other members. According to their catechism they consider baptism with water "only an outward sign, and not essential for the salvation of our souls." They said "God has released us from it and pointed to

baptism by fire and spirit by which alone we may become children of God (Andelson 1983).” At age 14, children in the Amana villages became members of the Amana church, which is the age at which they pledged their covenant with the community for the first time (Andelson 1983). The Amana were a Pietist group (Barthel 1989).

*The Hutterites.*

The Hutterites are another Anabaptist group, believing as the Amish do that baptism is for adults only (Peter 1983). The Hutterites are not a Pietist group.

*Analysis.*

**Table 1**

	Amish	Hutterites	Ephrata	Amana
Adult baptism	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Pietist	No	No	Yes	Yes

Based on these comparisons, it would seem that Pietism is an important factor in whether or not a group is successful; the successful groups in my analysis are not Pietist, and the unsuccessful groups are Pietist. The example of the Old Order German Baptist Brethren promote counter evidence against this argument. Notice, they are a different group from the Ephrata, in that the Ephrata were *Seventh-Day* German Baptist Brethren, celebrating Saturday as their holy day. The Old Order German Baptist Brethren celebrate Sunday as their holy day.

The Old Order German Baptist Brethren are considered an old order group in the same capacity as the Amish, distinguishing them from other more progressive Brethren



groups. Like the Ephrata, they are descendents of a small group of Pietists who left the Protestant and Catholic faiths in 1708 (Kraybill and Bowman 2001).

Like other German religious groups, the early German Baptists immigrated to America because of a desire for religious freedom. By the 1880s members were deeply divided in regards to practices in their church. A three-way split soon occurred, and one of the resulting groups was the Old Order German Baptist Brethren. Much like the Amish and Hutterites, they dress in a “plain” manner, so much so that they are often mistaken for Old Order Amish and Mennonites. They baptize adults who wish to become members into their church upon a confession of faith. While they are a small group when compared to the Amish and Hutterites, numbering approximately 6,000 adult church members, their numbers are steadily growing; between the years 1950 and 2000, their number has increased by over 50% (Kraybill and Bowman 2001).

Neither of my successful groups, the Amish and Hutterites, are Pietist. Both of my unsuccessful groups, the Ephrata and Amana, were Pietist. By the definition of my methodology, Pietism would then be a factor important to the analysis of group success. However, when presented with the example of the Old Order German Baptist Brethren, a Pietist group that is also by my definition is successful, I do not believe that Pietism is a factor that can predict group success or failure.

*Historical Contexts: Persecuted in Europe, Emigrated as a Group, and Historical Texts*

*Sociological theory.*

A past involving persecution and emigration, with a historical text used by descendents, are important factors in the collective memories of my comparison groups. A shared historical experience can strengthen a group’s boundaries, and construct a

widely shared mental state; both of these conditions are prime components in forming a group identity (Rosenman and Handelsman 1990).

Collective memory is different from historical memory; the latter reaches us through only historical records, and we no longer have an intrinsic relationship to it. Collective memory, in contrast, is an active past that forms group member's identities. Over time, group memories, such as the memories of persecution and forced emigration of Anabaptists in Renaissance Europe, become generalized images and need a social context in order to be preserved (Olick 1999). A social means is required for storing and transmitting collective memory. The memory is passed on from generation to generation (Olick 1999).

Texts such as the Amish *Martyrs Mirror* and the Hutterite *Chronicle* are tools that prevent members from forgetting their past. Much like the narratives of Jewish Holocaust survivors, which help by depicting events in the lives of group ancestors to create both a sensitivity to the group's past and a concern for the next generation (Rosenman and Handelsman 1990), the *Martyrs Mirror* and *Chronicle* are constant reminders to Amish and Hutterite children of their shared group past. These volumes are tools that both the Ephrata and Amana were lacking in their communities, tools that might have helped to keep their group's identities intact throughout history. Instead, the Ephrata and Amana communities fell apart.

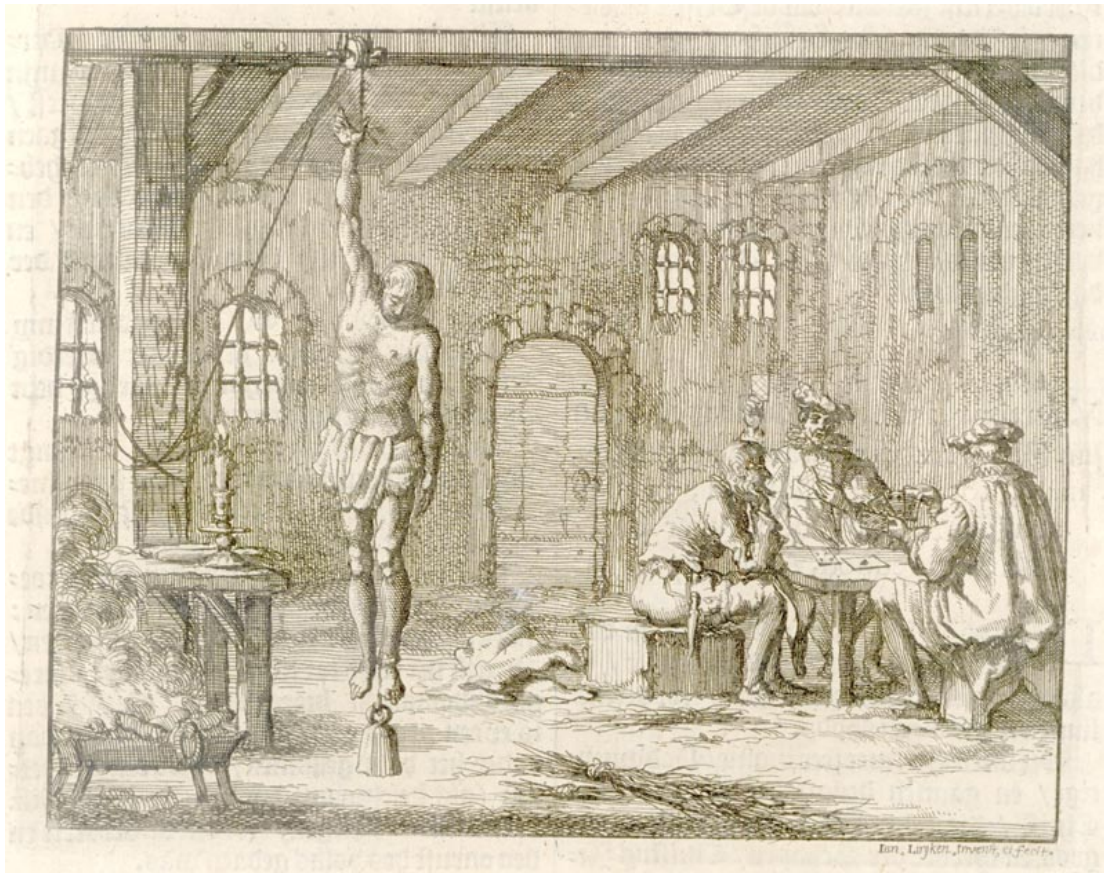
### *The Amish.*

Like other Anabaptist groups in Europe, the Amish encountered extreme persecution in their homeland, and were forced into mass migrations (Hostetler 1993). The Amish in America today derive from two peak immigration periods: one in the 18<sup>th</sup>

century (1727 – 1770) and one in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (1815 – 1860) (Hostetler 1993).

Many modern-day Amish homes possess a copy of the *Martyrs Mirror*, a book of 1,100 pages that chronicles the bloody carnage of Anabaptist persecution in Europe (Hostetler 1993). The book contains not only written accounts of the tortures suffered by martyrs, but also many graphic woodblock prints depicting the written words. Its tales of retribution and punishment, which occurred centuries ago, are so completely internalized by members that they are relived in the present (Loomis and Dyer 1976).

**Illustration 2 - *Martyrs Mirror* woodblock print, Torture of Gelijn Cornelis, while his interrogators take a break to play cards. Breda, 1572. Accessed on March 20, 2005, from <http://www.homecomers.org/mirror/spanish-inquisition.htm>**



*The Ephrata.*

As the Ephrata cloister community was founded in the Americas (Doll 1951), the members did not suffer persecution in Europe specifically as members of Ephrata. The Ephrata did not use a historical text to recount a history of persecution because there was no history to document. The closest kind of text they possessed was the *Chronicon Ephratense*, which is a history of the Ephrata community written by two of its members in 1786, and later translated to English in 1889 (D. Eller, personal communication, January 10, 2005). However, this is not a text depicting the bloody deaths of early martyrs as the Amish *Martyrs Mirror* and Hutterite *Chronicle* do. Instead, it is an account of the history of the cloisters and surrounding church community, based upon a manuscript reportedly kept by Jacob Glass, also called Brother Lamech, who died in 1764. The manuscript was later edited by Peter Miller, pen named Brother Agrippa, for publishing (Bach 2003).

#### *The Amana.*

The Inspirationists, the group that would later go on to found the Amana villages, was organized in 1714 at Himbach, in what is now Germany. What followed was an intense period of persecution and conflict in Europe (Chaffee 1930). Their first settlement in the Americas, called Ebenezer, was abandoned in the 1850s because of its close proximity to a growing Buffalo, NY (Cavan 1978). The group decided to move to the Iowa plains, and the Amana villages were founded.

The Amana did not use a historical text depicting its history. The closest kinds of texts the Amana possess to a historical text are the transcripts of the spoken testimonies of their *Werkzeuge*, or spiritual leader. But just as with the *Chronicon Ephratense*, the

Amana's text is not a recounting of bloody martyrdom of early members (D. Eller, personal communication, January 10, 2005).

*The Hutterites.*

The Hutterites originated in the 1520s in Switzerland, and subsequently moved from place to place in Europe because of persecution, from Moravia (now the Czech Republic) to Hungary, Romania, Russia, and finally the United States and Canada (Huffman 2000). It is estimated that there were approximately 35,000 Hutterites living in Moravia during the late 1500s (Diener 1974:604). In the late 1800s, only 350 members of the Hutterite community remained, and they made their final emigration to the United States and Canada (Diener 1974:604).

The Hutterites have a book of their own history, called the *Chronicle*, which lists some 2,173 martyrs who "laid down their lives for the Master and the Church." The stories of martyrdom, recorded in German, live on in Hutterite memory today (Kraybill and Bowman 2001). Martyrs were tortured and executed using extremely cruel methods. Members were raped and slaughtered. Hundreds of other martyrs were taken to Turkey and sold as slaves. Dozens of colonies were destroyed, plundered and incinerated. When a Hutterite retells these stories, they have a great emotional impact upon him or her (Deets 1975). Hutterite anecdotes and sermons retell the stories of suffering, which form the Hutterites view of "the World (Kraybill and Bowman 2001)." The *Chronicle* has been preserved for centuries in the form of hand-copied manuscripts (Peters 1965). It is a common practice among Hutterites for the colony's minister to present newly married couples with copies of both the Bible and *Chronicle*, a gift to the young couple on behalf of the church (Peters 1965).

*Analysis.*

**Table 2**

	Amish	Hutterites	Ephrata	Amana
Persecuted in Europe	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Emigrated as a group	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Historical text	Yes	Yes	No	No

From this table, we can see by comparison that being persecuted in Europe and emigrating as a group are not factors in group success or failure. However, the use of a historical text does seem to be a factor in group success. The Amish and the Hutterites have been able to maintain their collective consciousness of a terrible part of their history: the bloody and savage martyrdom of many of their early members. Each Amish and Hutterite child is aware of the past atrocities, and knows where their people came from. This element of past persecution and forced emigration was lacking for the members of the Ephrata cloister, but the same cannot be said for the Amana. Had the Amana been able to keep their group's memories of their past tragedies alive, perhaps their group would have been more successful in the long run.

It is also important at this point to make a caveat about the comparison of the factor of being persecuted in Europe. Anabaptist groups emerged in Europe far earlier than Pietist groups, predating them by roughly 200 years. These Anabaptist groups were much more violently persecuted in Europe than Pietist groups. The Pietists groups did not come into being until after Germany's Thirty Year's War (1618 – 1648). It may have been exhaustion with death and destruction from the war, on the part of the German people, that resulted in the less violent persecution of the Pietists. While certainly the Pietists suffered their own martyrs, most people in positions of authority saw more fit to banish the Pietists from their lands than to execute them (D. Eller, personal communication, January 10, 2005). However, leaving one's homeland during this time period in Europe can hardly be considered equivalent to its context today. To leave one's homeland, for no matter what reason, was considered a sin the same as desertion (Hostetler 1993).

*Cultural Practices: Language, Dress, Education, and Isolation*

*Sociological theory.*

Many authors have cited that group practices such as dress, language, and education help to prevent group members from interacting with non-group members, thus making it more difficult for members to leave the group (Finke 1997; Ianaccone 1994; Kanter 1972). The Amish and Hutterites wear their unique forms of dress and speak their unique languages because they believe they should not be of "the World." Distinctive dress and language are what Durkheim would have recognized as symbols by which the group communicates its own sentiments and ideas to the broader culture that surrounds them (Collins 1994). Their dress and language become symbols of their group's beliefs –

of separatism from and of being different from “the World.” These symbols are powerful tools in binding the community together.

Finke (1997), in his investigation as to why female Catholic religious orders were declining after Vatican II, found that the decline in communal living, the loss of distinctive dress, and the increase in individual autonomy all increased non-group activity. This increase in non-group activity, which is simply interaction between group members and non-group members, decreases the cost of a member leaving the group. Losses in the solidarity of the group reduces the group’s ability to support a member’s religious commitment (Finke 1997).

Religious institutions, such as parochial schools, are another way in which the collective memory and worldview of a group are handed down to young members (Wittberg 2000). The establishment of the American public school system was seen as a danger by Catholics, who believed that the secular, areligious nature of public education would weaken their children’s attachment to spiritual life (Wittberg 2000). Religious schools founded during the 19<sup>th</sup> century were often founded with the intent of preserving the particular ethnic variant of Catholicism or Lutheranism of the attending students (Wittberg 2000). As Wittberg quotes from Walch (1996), “Where the Germans had their own German schools and spoke only German, they are as faithful to their religion as they or their parents were 100 years ago when they left the ship.”

This view on public education is echoed by the way modern Christian fundamentalists reject education in the United States. Many fundamentalists see education as valueless unless it is of a religious orientation and contains religious content (Darnell and Sherkat 1997). Darnell and Sherkat (1997) found that conservative



Protestants and Biblical inerrantists (those who believe the Bible is the inerrant source of truth) have significantly lower educational aspirations than other respondents in their study. The conservative Protestants and Biblical inerrantists were also less likely to have taken college-track courses in high school. Darnell and Sherkat's findings suggest that cultural factors may play a role in the educational attainment process. They theorize that if children have internalized the values of their spiritual leaders (in this case, Christian fundamentalist leaders), then they will likely limit their educational pursuits, as per the values of their leaders.

Beyerlein (2004) takes Darnell and Sherkat's analysis one step further. Believing that conservative Protestantism cannot be treated as one gestalt body, he divided conservative Protestants into three groups: fundamentalist, Pentecostal, and evangelist. There is a major difference in the worldview of the fundamentalists versus the evangelists. While fundamentalist leaders tell their members to withdraw from the world, evangelist leaders encourage their members to engage the broader world. This, the author states, is why we see markedly different numbers between fundamentalists who attend college, and evangelists who attend college; the fundamentalist numbers of college attendees are low, while the evangelist numbers are high (Beyerlein 2004). This analysis of Christian fundamentalists and their lack of post-secondary education runs parallel to Amish, Amana, and Hutterite views of higher education, which they believe is not appropriate for their members, who are not supposed to participate in "the World."

Current literature also points a finger at keeping group members isolated as being an important factor in group success or failure. Persons with strong interactive ties outside of their religious group and weak interactive ties within the group are less likely

to be influenced by the group, and may eventually withdraw. These are the same interactive ties Finke (1997) explored in his investigation of female Catholic orders. There is growing evidence that religious belief and commitment are highly dependent upon the extent to which an individual is integrated into a religious community. Interaction within or outside the group has its greatest impact on individual worldviews (Cornwall 1989). Increasing involvement in non-group activities decreases the cost of exiting (Finke 1997).

Then there is the issue of religious pluralism. This is an extremely controversial and current issue in the field of the sociology of religion. Religious pluralism is measured by an equation wherein the more people that are spread across a greater number of religious denominations in a population, the greater the religious pluralism of the population is (Finke and Stark 2000). Finke and Stark (2000) find evidence that religious pluralism in the United States increases church adherence rates. However, Olson (1999) finds that when Finke and Stark's controlling for the Catholic and Mormon populations in the United States is removed, a control that Olson states is problematic, there is then evidence that religious pluralism has direct and negative effects on church adherence rates. Religious pluralism is currently a hot topic which provokes much debate among sociologists: do those in the camp of Finke and Stark have it right when they conclude that religious pluralism has a positive effect church adherence rates in the United States, or do those in the camp of Olson have it right when they conclude that religious pluralism has a negative effect on church adherence rates in the United States? While the effect of religious pluralism is not completely clear, what is clear is that it is an important issue within the sociology of religion that cannot be ignored.

Kanter also points to the permeability of a group being a concern with maintaining a successful group (Kanter 1972). Permeability is the degree to which members can cross the group's social boundaries, to enter and leave the group. If a community's social boundaries are permeable, the community can lose its social isolation and distinctiveness. The hiring of outside workers by the community and large numbers of visitors to the community, two characteristics of the Amana villages, Kanter identifies as factors that led to problems that many 19<sup>th</sup> century communes and utopian societies experienced. She also identifies educating children outside of the community as a factor that led to problems for communities (Kanter 1972).

The factors of language, dress, education, and isolation can also be tied in to Rational Choice theory, and the problem of free ridership. By having stricter demands on members, members are more committed, because the uncommitted members (free riders) will not stay in the group. The end result is an extremely committed group of members (Iannaccone 1994).

These strict demands and the strength of the group can also be explained by the sect-to-church theory. Successful religious movements (churches) tend to become more relaxed in their rules and enforcement of rules as the group becomes larger and more socially accepted by outsiders. As a result of this relaxation, the religious group will become increasingly less able to satisfy members who desire a stricter group. As discontent among dissatisfied members grows, these dissatisfied members will begin to complain that the group is abandoning its original positions and practices. At some point this growing conflict within the group will erupt into a split, and the group desiring a return to stricter practices will leave to found a new sect (Finke and Stark 2000). This is

reflective of the Anabaptist and Pietist movements that, after all, were a middle-class reaction to the upper-class extravagance of the Catholic, Reformed, and Lutheran churches (Chaffee 1927).

*The Amish.*

The Amish came from the Alemannic-dialect-speaking area of Europe (Switzerland, Alsace, Lorraine, and Rhineland). The dialect of the Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania German, is primarily an oral language. The Amish also teach their children High German, for both reading and quoting the Bible aloud. Roles and functions tend to organize around each language. When presented with an English-speaking person, an Amish person will switch to English. When speaking at home, an Amish person will speak his or her dialect of Pennsylvania German. When in church, an Amish person will use High German (Hostetler 1993).

The distinctive dress of the Amish sets them apart from modern day life, and marks the boundary between their community and “the World” (Kraybill and Bowman 2001). The Amish believe that they should not dress and be of “the World” (Hostetler 1993). They do not allow tattoos or jewelry. Women do not cut their hair, and it is parted at the middle. Men wear beards after they are married, minus a mustache, which was worn by the military in Europe and is therefore forbidden to the Amish. Some Amish use buttons, some reject them for the use of hooks-and-eyes. Regionalism is expressed in the way a man’s trousers are held up; the number of suspenders, how they are made, and the way in which they are worn become symbolic of belonging to a particular Amish group. The type of hat and length of brim worn by men symbolizes age and level of conservatism of his Amish group. The women wear a white prayer cap

(*Kapp*), which reflects which Amish group they belong to and region they live in. Girls from age 12 to marriage wear a black cap instead of a white cap for Sunday dress, and a white cap at home. These caps are very similar to those worn by German Palatine women during 15<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Amish women also wear a cape called a *Halsduch*. It was after immigrating to America that the Amish, for the first time, became conscious of a distinctive, uniform dress, a form of dress very different from that of their Scotch, Irish, Huguenot, Quaker, and other neighbors. As protection against change and absorption into the dominant culture, the Amish deliberately retained the style of dress they wore when they first immigrated to America (Hostetler 1964).

**Illustration 3 – Amish men and women. Accessed on March 20, 2005, from <http://www.theamishguesthouse.com/amish.html>**



**Illustration 4 – Amish women.** Accessed on March 20, 2005, from <http://www.theamishguesthouse.com/amish.html>



Amish children do not continue their formal education past the 8<sup>th</sup> grade; this is supported by a 1972 Supreme Court ruling, which upheld the validity of the Amish school system, rather than consolidate small Amish schools into larger public schools. Amish schools are built and operated by the parents of a local church district. Amish teachers come from the community, and they themselves have no formal training beyond the elementary grades (Hostetler 1993). The Amish believe that exposure of their young people vis a vis modern schooling to cars, teachers with short skirts, and students with modern clothes and ideas will sway the Amish youth, making them envious of the dominant culture and dissatisfied with their own (P.T.R. 1967). These sentiments echo the concerns of conservative Protestant parents about public schooling that Darnell and

Sherkat (1997) found during the course of their research, that children would be exposed to a non-religious worldview if they continue with a non-religious track of education.

Amish families living in 18<sup>th</sup> century Pennsylvania were neighbors to other immigrants of other religions, including German Reformed, French-speaking Huguenots, and various Pietistic sects, especially Dunkards. As a result of this close proximity, many Amish families joined the Dunkard, or Church of the Brethren, Church (Hostetler 1993). Had the early Amish settlers not relocated again to more rural areas in order to solve this problem of losing members to other churches, it is doubtful that they would have survived at all (Hostetler 1993).

Today, some 4 million tourists visit Lancaster County annually, about 180 visitors for each Amish person (Kraybill 2001). Visiting the Amish and “Pennsylvania Dutch Country” is the main attraction of this tourism. In essence, the Amish of Lancaster County have lost their isolation. With greater mobility and ease of travel and communication, Amish solidarity is threatened (Hostetler 1993).

Members not in good standing with the Amish church, or members who leave the church (“go English”) are shunned, a practice called *Meidung* in the dialect of the Amish. While members in good standing may have contact with the shunned persons, they may not eat at the same table, and the members in good standing may not accept anything (aid, gifts, hospitality) from the shunned persons. Shunning can be lifted for members who repent, but those who do not can be shunned for the rest of their lives. Members must be very careful in the way they engage in contact with shunned persons, or else they may become subject to shunning as well (Kraybill 2001).

*The Ephrata.*



Members of the Ephrata cloister community spoke German (Alderfer 1985). However, it must be pointed out that during that time period in Pennsylvania, each individual ethnic group spoke its own native European language; English had not yet become the language of the dominant culture. So the issue of what language members of the Ephrata community spoke is moot when put into its proper historical context.

The celibate members of the Ephrata cloister community adopted distinctive dress and the tonsure (Frantz 1976). Members of the solitary orders at Ephrata first wore a “plain Quaker garb,” as a reaction to accusations of Catholic ties because of the development of the Brotherhood and Sisterhood. This was later replaced with a more austere and primitive garb, inspired by descriptions in Gottfried Arnold’s book *The Primitive Christians* (Alderfer 1985). Their garb was based on the white habits of the Capuchin monks (Whitney 1966), and designed to hide the contours of the human body (Alderfer 1985). The Ephrata wanted to emulate earlier Christian monastic garb (Alderfer 1985). The Householders adopted a similar garb of gray to distinguish themselves from the Solitary orders. This was worn only at worship and at all public occasions. But other settlers criticized them for aping the Solitary, and in the course of a few years their use of the habit was discontinued, never having been required (Alderfer 1985).

**Illustration 5 - Woodcutting of an Ephrata Sister's costume. Accessed on March 20, 2005, from <http://www.ephratacloister.org/History/history.html>**



The Ephrata cloister community had several schools for children. There was a daily school for the secular instruction of children of the congregation, a Sabbath school for poor children in the vicinity of the cloister, and a secondary boarding school that is said to have attracted students from Philadelphia and Baltimore (Doll 1951).

Historically, we do not know if the Sabbath school was conducted according to the cloister Sabbath (Saturday) or the Sabbath of attending non-member's children (Sunday) (M. Showalter, personal communication, January 13, 2005). These schools were quite pioneering for their time and place in history. The schoolbook used at Ephrata, of which the second edition was published in 1786, was one of the earliest American textbooks. Manuscripts from the schools have also indicated that higher mathematics was taught there (Doll 1951).

The Cocalico creek area, where the Ephrata cloister is located, was at the time very isolated, as it was former Native American territory and considered “out of bounds” by settlers (Alderfer 1985). The actual cloister buildings were also surrounded for several miles by the farms of Householder families, creating a buffer zone around the community, keeping it separate from non-members living in the area. However, it did have its own non-member “neighbors,” although they lived much farther away than what we would think of today as neighbors. Initially, Beissel’s radical religious teachings caused tension with the community’s neighbors, but eventually the community and its neighbors went on to maintain good relations (Best 1993).

Membership at the Ephrata cloister community was in an almost constant state of flux. Members oscillated between celibate orders and Householders, Householders and celibate orders. Members also oscillated between being members of the community leaving the community (M. Showalter, personal communication, January 13, 2005). Unlike the Amish and Hutterites, the boundary between membership and non-membership for the Ephrata was extremely permeable.

#### *The Amana.*

Up until the early 1900s, the Amana spoke German. After the Change of 1932, the Amana began offering church services in English as well as German to appeal to their young people (Cavan 1978). In a single three generation family written about by Cavan, the grandmother could understand English but spoke German; her son spoke German to her but English to his children, who spoke only English but could still understand their German-speaking Grandmother. Cavan predicts that, as time passes, so too will German as the daily language of the Amana (Cavan 1978).

Garb among the Amana before 1932 was simple, but not uniform (Davis 1936). Before the Great Change at Amana, women wore a long dark dress with apron and shoulder shawl (Cavan 1978). The garb of the older women conformed almost exactly to the type of clothing worn when the community was founded, made from the black, blue, or gray calico printed in the Amana mills. The waist and skirt were sewn together in a wide band, the skirt long and full, and the waist long and tight. A black sateen apron tied around the waist. Ceremonial dress for women was preferably black and included a small black cap and shoulder shawl. Women's hair was plainly dressed, brushed back, coiled, and usually covered with a homemade thread net. The dress of younger women and girls immediately preceding the Great Change had begun to reflect influences of "the World" (Chaffee 1927). The dress of the men and boys had little to distinguish it from the clothing worn by the men of "the World." Only Sunday clothing was made by the village tailor, every-day wear was bought pre-made. The older men of the community wore broad full-cut front trouser and a Sunday coat without lapels. Those who did not come into business contact with the outside world wore a round-cut beard without the mustache (Chaffee 1927). Those of a higher "class" in the Amana villages were permitted to wear clothing of better quality (Andelson 1981).

**Illustration 6 - Amana women in traditional dress. Accessed on March 20, 2005, from <http://www.amanaheritage.org/>**



Prior to 1932, the Amana ended education at the age of 14; only a few children, usually boys, were sent outside for high school and college preparation in medicine, dentistry, and pharmacy, and an eventual return to the community. Statistics from 1978 showed that virtually all Amana children graduated from high school. Of those graduates, 60% to 80% continued onto college, and 60% of those who went to college returned to Amana (Cavan 1978). The important point to be made about Amana education is the disparity prior to the Great Change of 1932. The few who were sent outside of the community to receive a higher education were children of members of what was referred to as an “aristocracy of elders.” The members and family members of this elite group were given some of the best jobs and positions within the community,

such as teacher, doctor, or pharmacist (Barthel 1989). Those members of this higher class were also permitted to wear better clothing than others in the community (Andelson 1981). Similar claims have also been made by what few defectors have come from Hutterite communities, that the children of colony bosses are treated better and have more privileges than others (Hartse 1994). These examples of privilege, in what should be egalitarian communities, could signal eventual trouble for the cohesiveness of Hutterite communities.

The social structure of the Amana villages was originally intended to make it unnecessary for residents to leave the villages (Cavan 1984). At first well isolated, the Amana villages have been connected for many decades with the outside world by railroads and federal and state highways (Cavan 1978). These railroads, which have several stations in the villages, along with the intersecting highways, created stresses because they brought the intrusion of external influences into the community, most notably travelers and tourists. In her thesis, Chaffee wrote that two railroads, the Chicago-Rock Island Pacific and the Chicago-Milwaukee and St. Paul passed through the Amana villages, with three stations (Chaffee 1927). Many intrusions came from curious but friendly tourists who wanted to see how the strangely dressed people lived or wanted to buy household articles. Even before the Great Change, three of the seven villages had hotels, made necessary by the constant influx of visitors to the villages (Chaffee 1927). The Amana people glimpsed at first hand how people of “the World” dressed, talked, and felt, and young people in particular wished to emulate them (Cavan 1978). After the Great Change of 1932 the Amana adopted characteristics of “the World,” such as cocktail parties and cars. Tourism, once a trickle, became a major pressure and economic force in

the 70s and 80s. It threatened to overwhelm a community once guided by the tenet, “have no intercourse with outsiders...(Barthel 1989).” In 1936, the total population of the villages numbered at 1,461 persons, including 135 non-members of the society. Of the outsiders working on Amana farms, nearly 50% lived in the villages, yet another way in which the Amana were exposed to outside influences (Davis 1936).

Compounding the problem of lack of isolation, many Amana families had ties to relatives on the outside, either in America or Europe. While visits and letters to these outside family members were frowned upon by village authority figures, they were not strictly forbidden (Barthel 1984). This is very different in comparison to Amish and Hutterite families, who generally avoid contact with members of their family who have left the group. For the Amish especially, contact with family members who have left the group could lead to members being shunned. Those who have broken their baptismal vow and left the Amish church are ostracized for life (Kraybill 2001).

#### *The Hutterites.*

The Hutterites speak an Austrian dialect called *Hutterisch* as well as English, which they learn in school. *Hutterisch* also includes many words from other European languages, reflecting their persecution throughout the Old World. They also study High German for sermons (Kraybill and Bowman 2001).

The distinctive dress of the Hutterites publicly declares member's identity when they shop in nearby towns (Kraybill and Bowman 2001). Women wear an ankle length, gathered skirt, a long apron, and a blouse with either a vest or jacket with long sleeves, which depends on which colony and Leut they belong to. Dress material is typically plaid or floral. Women also wear kerchiefs on their heads at all times. Their hair is worn

long, combed, and braided in the proscribed manner. Men wear black denim trousers and suspenders, and a black coat or jacket. Blue denim is considered to be part of the costume of “the World,” and is strictly avoided. Shirts may vary in color or pattern, but only white shirts are worn for the Sunday service. Felt caps and hats are black. Beards must be worn after marriage. All Hutterite clothing is made according to distinct Hutterite patterns (Hostetler 1974).

**Illustration 7 - A 19-year-old Hutterite Dariusleut girl from Montana. Accessed on March 20, 2005, from [http://www.umt.edu/journalism/MJR/MJR\\_2002/stories/hutterite.html](http://www.umt.edu/journalism/MJR/MJR_2002/stories/hutterite.html)**





In Hutterite communities, the student's day is divided up into two "schools." The first one is taught by the local school board instructor, who is state certified and not a member of the Hutterite community. He or she teaches from the state or province curriculum. Then the German teacher, who is a member of the Hutterite community, provides the moral and religious instruction to students. German school is held year-round and also on Saturdays. Hutterite education previously ended at the 8<sup>th</sup> grade level (Ingoldsby 2001). Recently, the US government began to require that Hutterite youth achieve a GED (Huffman 2000). In the past, the Hutterites attempted to provide their own English teachers by permitting a few young men to go into "the World" to further their education. Many of these young men deserted the colony. Today, the practice of sending their own out to come back with further education is frowned upon by colony leaders (Hostetler 1974). Young Hutterites who leave the colony often return when they find that they lack the training and education to be successful in "the World (Bennett 1967)."

The Hutterites live in extreme isolation on the Great Plains of America and Canada; they cannot look around and see the "greener pastures" of neighboring towns and farms, as they simply do not lie within visual range. They are wary of prolonged exposure to people outside of the colony. Diener (1974) attributes the Hutterite's success to their ability to exist on the geographic fringes of capitalist society. This dovetails well with Cavan (1978), who cites that one of the external influences in the "Great Change" experienced by the Amana was when a railroad and several federal and state highways were constructed running through the villages. This not only brought an influx of outsiders into the Amana villages, but also gave residents a taste of the outside world via

these outsiders. Hutterite relationships with outsiders are at best guarded, lest they slip into the ways of “the World,” such as radio, television, and movies as a result to exposure to things outside of the community through these friendships (Hostetler 1974).

Members of the Hutterite community who are in poor standing can be shunned, a practice similar to the *Meidung* of the Amish. Punishment can range from being admonished publicly during church services for minor infractions of the community’s rules, to being expelled from the community for a major infraction such as adultery. Shunning itself can entail exclusion from worship services and meals (the offender eats alone). Members who leave the colony after baptism, breaking their promise to the colony and Hutterite church, are the most serious offenders. Some colonies make an effort to try to persuade the defector to return to the colony, and some do not (Kraybill and Bowman 2001)

#### *Analysis.*

**Table 3**

	Amish	Hutterites	Ephrata	Amana
Distinctive dress	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes, up until 1932
Distinctive language	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes, up until 1932
Higher education	No	No	N/A	Yes
Socially Isolated	Yes	Yes	No	No
Geographically Isolated	No	Yes	No	No

Distinctive language and dress are not found to covary consistently with group success or failure. What we can observe is that after the Great Change of 1932, the

Amana lost their uniqueness with regards to all three factors. Their members no longer wear distinctive garments, with the exception of those who wear them to Sunday worship. They no longer speak their native German dialect; in fact, older members of the community struggle in communicating with younger members. The Great Change also opened the doors of higher education to Amana youth.

What is unclear from this table and analysis is the issue of not participating in higher education creating a boundary that helps to maintain the community. It is because of a lack of comparative data from the Ephrata that I am hesitant to draw a concrete conclusion from this analysis. Historical data also does not tell us very much about the Ephrata schools. The absence of data from Ephrata, with regards to the modern-day system of compulsory education in the United States, leaves this analysis with only one negative case (Amana). My methodology would not be properly met without more negative cases, and this would be best gathered from further research into the specific topic of how does participating in higher education effect groups and communities. However, we cannot ignore the difference between the groups that did not participate in higher education (Amish and Hutterites), and the group that did (Amana).

The Amish and Hutterites have attempted to minimize their children's interactions with educators from outside the community. Additionally, the Hutterites have found that if they let their young colony members out into "the World" to further their education, they often do not come back. Many Amana youth who continue on to college do not return to the Amana villages. The lack of education can be termed as just another form of social isolation, which once lost in the case of the Amana, led to failure of the community. By denying a high school diploma to young persons, and in the case of the

Amish a GED as well, young persons are also denied the chance to attend college, another way in which they are kept socially isolated.

Curtailing education may also work as a barrier to exit from the community. Hutterite youth who leave the colony often return when they find that they lack the education to survive in “the World.” This example can be paired both with Hutterites who in the past were encouraged to leave the colonies to further their education and ended up not returning to the colony, and with the Amana, who nowadays lose many of their college educated youth to “the World.”

Again, I must briefly mention the case of the Old Order German Baptist Brethren. Although they are not central to the analyses presented in this thesis, I cannot ignore what I have learned about them during the course of my research. Roughly half of Old Order German Baptist Brethren children attend public school. The remaining half attend privately run Brethren schools, or are home-schooled (Kraybill and Bowman 2001:145). Additionally, Old Order Brethren do not require their members to wear their plain way of dress until after baptism. This is a measure specifically aimed at easing the lives of their youth in public schools; by allowing their youth to wear clothing of “the World,” they hope that their youth will not be ridiculed for an otherwise relatively odd way of dressing (Kraybill and Bowman 2001). Mainline Brethren have founded and operate several colleges and universities in the United States, including Elizabethtown College in Pennsylvania, Bridgewater College in Virginia, and the University of La Verne in California.

I also feel it important to mention here the Old Order Mennonites and their attitudes towards education. The Old Order Mennonites are protected to have their own

privately run schools under the same 1972 Supreme Court ruling that protects the Amish. Old Order Mennonites do not participate in education past the 8<sup>th</sup> grade, feeling that an 8th grade education is sufficient enough for working on the farm. Old Order Mennonite children and youth attend one-room schoolhouses, taught by members, similar to the Amish system of schooling (Kraybill and Bowman 2001). This is a stark distinction between the attitudes of mainline Mennonites, who do participate in higher education even through the college level. There are several Mennonite colleges and universities in the United States, including Goshen College in Indiana, Eastern Mennonite University in Virginia, and Bethel College in Kansas.

With the addition of these two groups for analysis, it becomes very unclear as to how participating in higher education effects a group. This factor could certainly be a study in and of itself, looking at a broad range of groups and their participation in or denial of higher education, in order to determine how exactly higher education effects groups.

The comparison of isolation can make a prediction about the possible future of the Amish of Lancaster County. Gillin (1910) points out that isolated communities fall apart when they lose their physical and social isolation. Just as the Amana lost their isolation, so too have the Lancaster County Amish. After this loss of isolation, the Amana eventually gave up elements that helped them to maintain their group boundaries, such as distinctive dress and language. Cavan (1984) points out that one of the major differences between the Midwestern Amish and Amana, and one of the major factors in keeping this particular Amish community together, is the maintenance of public and private space in the community. The Midwestern Amish have almost no public space in their community.

While the Amana attempted to maintain their private space, their economic success always historically depended on interactions with outsiders. It is the Amish of Lancaster County who have better handled their public and private space. They allow the tourist industry to use simulated views of Amish life in tourist attractions, which prevents tourists and curiosity seekers from invading the private aspect of Amish life. The Amana should serve as a cautionary tale to the Lancaster County Amish, as an example of a community that lost its identity-maintaining boundary when it lost its isolation.

Social isolation creates another important barrier that helps to create and maintain a successful group. Groups that keep themselves socially isolated, by shunning and denying relationships with outsiders are successful, as opposed to groups that do not engage in these practices. The boundary of social isolation can also be extended to the analysis of economic practices and membership practices.

*Economic Practices: Ties to Land, Community of Goods*

*Sociological theory.*

Economic practices can be connected to the factor of isolation and the creation of group boundaries. Interaction with non-group members can make it easier for group members to leave the group (Finke 1997; Ianaccone 1994; Kanter 1972). Prior research has show that members with strong ties outside of the group may be more likely to withdraw from the group (Finke 1997). Interaction with non-members can also have an impact on the worldview of group members (Cornwall 1989).

One way in which the Amish and Hutterites prevent this interaction is by maintaining a certain level of economic independence. Economic independence, rooted in an agricultural lifestyle or “ties to the land,” has allowed the Amish and Hutterites to

stay segregated from “the World.” The Amish and Hutterites keep their members from forming strong ties with outside members by making it mostly unnecessary that they interact with outsiders for economic reasons.

The economy at Amana consisted of a split between farming and manufacturing. This economy made it necessary that their members deal with “the World,” as it was people of “the World” who were their customers for their manufactured products. The Ephrata cloister community also experienced a period of time when they relied on providing services and goods with their mills rather than providing only for their own members. These economic practices brought members of both communities into close contact with outsiders and non-members, contact that may have eroded community ties. The Amish, specifically those living in the tourist magnet of Lancaster County, can take these as cautionary examples as more and more Lancaster County Amish find themselves opening businesses because they do not have access to farmland.

A community of goods means that all members share property communally (Bennett 1967). I add the factor of practicing a community of goods to this analysis because it has been stated by Huffman to be an important cause of the Hutterite’s success (2000). Upon comparison to other similar groups, I find this to not be the case. Huffman’s article, which is so typical of the literature on groups, is of the single case study design, rather than a comparative one.

### *The Amish.*

Soil has a spiritual significance for the Amish. As in the Hebrew account of Creation, the Amish hold that a man’s first duty is to tend the garden (Hostetler 1993; Kraybill 2001). Amish agricultural practices began when the Anabaptists were politically

disenfranchised in their homelands and were forced to devise new farming methods in previously unproductive regions and climates. In Lancaster County, where land prices have skyrocketed, population pressure has forced the Amish to have smaller farms. The Amish buy up “English” and Mennonite farms as they become available (Hostetler 1993). The proliferation of Amish non-farming employment occurred very rapidly after 1960. Very few of the Amish household heads work as farm laborers today. Single men, if they are the sons of farmers, typically work on the farm of their father or on another Amish farm (Hostetler 1993). The Amish do not work in factory jobs. Non-farming Amish have small shops or businesses based at home. Today, about two thirds of the Amish no longer work directly as farmers, but some of their jobs support the farm economy (Kraybill 2001).

The Amish do not practice a community of goods, but do practice mutual aid in times of disaster (Hostetler 1993). When a person in the Amish community experiences a severe hardship, such as expensive medical bills or the loss of a house or barn, the community digs deep to provide the victim with relief, both in the form of money and a helping hand with labor. This mutual aid makes is one of the reasons the Amish do not purchase forms of insurance, such as health or homeowners coverage (Kraybill 2001).

### *The Ephrata.*

During the high of its population, in the mid 1700s, the Ephrata cloister community had many industrial enterprises, including several mills. They also had a tannery, wove linen and woolen cloth, and owned and operated a printing press (Doll 1951). The gristmill was the community’s first mill, built in 1736. This mill was originally meant to service only the Ephrata cloister community. By 1741, a sawmill,



linseed oil mill, fulling mill, and paper mill had been constructed on the banks of the Cocalico Creek, and all had begun to service the larger population outside of Ephrata (Alderfer 1985). The first edition of the *Martyrs Mirror* to be printed in the New World was printed on the Ephrata printing press for the Mennonites (Whitney 1966). It was only after the gristmill, fulling mill and oil mill burned down in 1747 that the community returned to an economy of only providing for its own members (Alderfer 1985). The Ephrata had extensive orchards (Doll 1951). The cloisters practiced a community of goods in which all material goods were held in common by members of the cloisters (Alderfer 1985; Doll n.d.). By 1780s, most of Ephrata's distinctive forms of communal life had passed away (Doll 1951).

#### *The Amana.*

Though the Amana farmed, along with other industry (Cavan 1978), they were not a self-sufficient agricultural community like the Hutterites (Andelson 1981). The farms, woolen mills, and calico mills produced substantial surpluses that were sold wholesale at external markets. The Amana depended heavily on these sales, and these businesses were clearly operated with a profit margin in mind. The necessity of making money was a pervasive theme and a constant goal in Amana (Andelson 1981).

The Amana economy, already weakened by the collapse of the woolen market following the end of WWI, suffered a disastrous fire in 1923 that destroyed the Main Amana woolen and flourmills. The communal economy still had not fully recovered when the Great Depression occurred. However, when compared with other Midwestern farmers of the same time period, the Amana were fairly well off (Barthel 1989). With a serious belt tightening, the communal system could have survived. But the community

leadership was aware that residents had already slipped into modern habits and had needs and desires created by the dominant culture outside of Amana (Barthel-Bouchier 2001). Although Amana attempted to create and maintain private space, it had internal economic activities whose success depended on outside contacts (Cavan 1984). The major difficulty was that Amana had never achieved economic independence from the larger society and, after the turn of the century, was increasingly tied to the national market, especially through their woolen manufacture (Barthel 1984).

The Amana adopted a community of goods during their period of immigration to the United States, between 1843 and 1846. It was developed in order to purchase sufficient land and materials for their needs and to pay the passage of members in Germany who had not yet joined them in the New World (Andelson 1981; Cavan 1978). Although this community of goods had its origins in economic dependence, leaders quickly sanctified it using Scripture (Andelson 1981). The communal way of life at Amana was abandoned in 1932 (Andelson 1981; Barthel 1989; Cavan 1978).

### *The Hutterites.*

The fact that the Hutterites make their living almost wholly from agriculture has a bearing on their cohesion. As agriculturalists it is possible to have more of the isolation that is necessary for survival. The Hutterites are able to maintain a much greater degree of unified, autonomous, self-sufficiency than would be otherwise possible (Deets 1975). This economic self-reliance creates a boundary between Hutterites and non-Hutterites; they do not have to rely on outsiders to purchase their goods in order to support their economy, and rarely do they have to turn to “the World” to purchase things they need.

Hutterites may sell the “fruits of their production,” such as crops and animals, but do not sell things “produced by their own hands,” or in other words, manufactured goods. To the Hutterites, selling manufactured goods would bring them too close to the practices of “the World” (Bennett 1967). Colonies have their own people to take care of their needs, such as tailors, shoemakers, and electricians. For food, they are self sufficient, having gardens, orchards, and animals (Kraybill and Bowman 2001). Members receive no paycheck, pay no medical bills personally, prepare no wills, and do not worry about retirement or medical care. Colonies are organized as legal corporations, which buy and sell, often in mass quantities (Kraybill and Bowman 2001).

In Europe, because of lack of land, the Hutterites encouraged craft over agriculture. The move to the Ukraine, with its good soil and available land, reversed this trend, and encouraged agriculture over craft industry. Since the resources in the Midwest closely resembled those found in the Ukraine, the colonies were able at first to duplicate their Ukrainian farming program in the New World. To meet the need to support a relatively large colony population on a relatively limited land, the Hutterites inevitably tended toward the development of labor saving devices and mechanization (Bennett 1967).

The Hutterites practice a community of goods (Hostetler 1993). The basis for their community of goods is Biblical, based on the description of the early Christian church: “And all that believed were together and had all things in common; and they sold their possessions and goods and parted them to all men, as every man had need (Acts 2:41-47) (Kraybill and Bowman 2001:25).” To the Hutterites, private property symbolizes greed and vanity and leads to other forms of evil, and the sharing of material

goods is seen as the highest form of Christian love (Kraybill and Bowman 2001). All things are held in common in Hutterite colonies, and when a member dies all of his or her communal property are redistributed (Peters 1965). Hutterites own only a few pieces of personal property, which are truly theirs individually: knickknacks, books, and heirloom dishes are among these personal items. When young people become baptized members, they must give up any claim to colony property; those who leave the colony life for “the World” take only the clothing they are wearing on their backs at the time, and whatever few personal trinkets they may possess (Kraybill and Bowman 2001).

When a single colony reaches large enough numbers to warrant fission into two colonies, between 150 to 175 members (Olsen 1987:824) (Huffman 2000:549 cites the fission numbers as between 120 and 130), the equipment and supplies of the mother colony are also divided up into two groups, one of which will be retained by the mother colony and one of which will be given to the daughter colony (Kraybill and Bowman 2001).

The King Colony Ranch Inc., a Hutterite colony in Montana, has recently made the news because of the fight of some of its members for Medicaid, the government program that helps pay for medical care for the poor. In 1992, seven women from the colony applied for and were granted Medicaid benefits. At the end of 2001, the state Department of Public Health and Human Services decided the women did not qualify for the benefits after all, because they have access to the colony’s net worth, an estimated \$2.1 million. The women and their attorneys claim that, because they have no vote in the colony, they have no access to these financial resources (Obesity, Fitness, & Wellness Week 2005). This court case may be evidence of two things: first, that the communal

system is failing in Hutterite colonies, because members are no longer satisfied with the system and wish to seek external financial aid. Second, that Hutterite women are no longer content to have no voice in their community. This is something social scientists have termed as Hutterite “girl power,” which is more frequently demonstrated by young women who wish to delay marriage, so that they may enjoy the comforts of their family and home colony for a longer period of time (Harrison 1992).

*Analysis.*

**Table 4**

	Amish	Hutterites	Ephrata	Amana
Ties to the land	Yes	Yes	No	No
Community of goods	No	Yes	Yes	Yes

From this comparison, it appears that community of goods is not a determining factor in success of a community. The Amish and Hutterites do not both practice a community of goods, and both are successful. Further evidence for this conclusion can be drawn from the example of another religious group, the Schwenkfelders. The Schwenkfelders are another non-communal sect of German origin, stemming out of the original Lutheran break from Roman Catholicism. The group originated in Silesia, now a part of modern-day Germany, in the 1500s, following the teachings of Caspar Schwenkfeld von Ossing, who believed that the Sacraments of the Church were being misused. The Schwenkfelders did not believe in the Sacraments of Baptism or the Lord’s Supper. After many years of persecution in Germany at the hands of Lutherans and Jesuits, they immigrated to Pennsylvania in the 1700s. Their first congregation in the

New World was established in Pennsylvania in 1782. After losing many members to marriages outside of their own faith, the Schwenkfelders prohibited marriage with non-members. They were mostly farmers in occupation (Gibbons [1882] 2001). Today, the Schwenkfelders are small in numbers, and their members are indistinguishable from members of other mainline Protestant or Orthodox denominations. Yet they were not communal, so the Schwenkfelders give evidence that not all non-communal groups are successful.

Agricultural practices, or “ties to the land,” however, are by comparison an important factor in group success. By being agriculturally self-sufficient, the Amish and Hutterites are able to provide for their members and maintain minimal contact with non-group members. In contrast, the Amana and Ephrata relied on economic practices that constantly brought them into contact with non-members. Agricultural self-sufficiency leads to economic self-sufficiency, which creates a boundary between members and non-members. Groups that are economically self-sufficient do not have to come into contact with outsiders in order to make a living.

*Membership Practices: Relying on Converts, Encouraging/Discouraging  
Marriage/Families, and a Form of Rumspringa*

*Sociological theory.*

There is a distinct difference between groups that rely on outsiders to add to the membership of the group, and groups that perpetuate themselves through marriage and giving birth to children. Prior research on religious socialization has focused on three agents: the family, the church, and peers. This research has found that the family is the principle agent of religious socialization, with the church and peers acting as secondary

agents (Cornwall 1989). For a believer, the number of in-group ties one has makes the religious commitment that much stronger (Cornwall 1989). A person born inside the community will have more ties, mostly familial, than someone joining the community, who has only peer ties.

Further research by Martin, White, and Perlman (2003) supported Cornwall's earlier work, finding that there is a significant direct relationship between the independent variables of parental, congregational, and peer influences, and the dependent variable of an individual's faith maturity (the degree to which a person embodies the priorities, commitments, and perspectives characteristic of vibrant and life transforming faith) (Martin et al. 2003).

Kanter identifies converts who join a group as a factor which may lead to problems for the group, as outsiders who join often introduce discord into the group (Kanter 1972). Outsiders who join as recruits often bring with them ideas, values, and norms that are alien to the group that they join, causing disharmony with already established members as new ideas are introduced to the group.

The rate of religious conversion in the United States is on the rise. In the 1950s, one in four Americans was practicing a denomination different from their parents. More recent statistics from the 1980s indicate that one in three Americans now practice a denomination different from their parents. The statistic of one in three is considered to be a very high number of converts ([http://www.adherents.com/Na/Na\\_244.html#1232](http://www.adherents.com/Na/Na_244.html#1232) and [http://www.adherents.com/Na/Na\\_245.html](http://www.adherents.com/Na/Na_245.html), accessed April 5, 2005).

While socialization theory usually stresses the family as the most important mechanism in value transmission, evidence has been found that children in religious

communities develop their values from extra-familial culture as much as from their parents; something in the larger social structure strongly influences them (Hodge et al. 1982). This would buttress the idea that children raised in a religious community will be stronger members than those who join from outside the community. Children are an important source of new members. They can be added to the membership rolls at birth or as teenagers. The number of births in a particular church, therefore, has an obvious impact on the long-term growth of that church (Perrin et al. 1997). The comparison is very clear in this case: groups who encourage marriage and children have been successful, and groups that have instead relied on outsiders joining the community have failed.

There is a stark contrast between how the Amish and Hutterites handle their young people, and how the Amana handle theirs. The Amish and Hutterites allow their young to engage in behavior that would not be tolerated in a baptized member of the church. Indeed, these young are not full church members, and cannot be criticized for their behavior. The Amana, by contrast, were very strict with their young. This strictness towards elements of “the World” and young people led to the dissatisfaction that many authors report was what fostered the environment for discussions in the Amana villages, the end result of which was the Great Change of 1932.

#### *The Amish.*

The Amish make no effort to evangelize or proselyte outsiders. It is their primary concern to keep their own baptized members from slipping into “the World,” or into other religious groups (Hostetler 1993). To the Amish, marriage means that a young man and young woman are ready to give up their sometimes wild adolescent behavior, and to



settle down and become respectable members of the community. Marriage is a rite of passage marking the change from youth to adulthood (Hostetler 1993). Most Amish marry between the ages of 19 and 25 (Kraybill 2001). Marriage is highly regarded in the Amish community, and raising a family is the true career of Amish adults (Kraybill 2001). An Amish couple expects they will have many children, as a large family is very desirable in the Amish community (Hostetler 1993). Believing that large families are a blessing from God, couples allow for nature to take its course and produce sizable families. In other words, the official position of the Amish community is against birth control. However, some families use both artificial and natural means to control the spacing between births of children (Kraybill 2001). Amish children are raised that they never feel secure outside of the family and community (Hostetler 1992).

*Rumspringa* is a time between the ages of 16 and baptism where Amish youth are allowed to “sow wild oats.” This is a liminal period for Amish youth, when they are not completely under the authority of their parents because of their age, and not completely under the authority of the church because they are not yet baptized members (Kraybill 2001). Young people are allowed to “date” in the Amish sense of the word, and to congregate with their gender peer groups for activities. Minor violations of the dress code, such as a haircut, are tolerated, and some young people even possess a driver’s license or car.

#### *The Ephrata.*

In the early days of the solitary orders at Ephrata, Conrad Beissel proselytized and evangelized to non-members quite heavily. Entire families joined his community as a response. This influx was so great that there was a need for new buildings to be

constructed. Over time, as Beissel and his followers grew older, their ability to evangelize among new immigrants declined (Bradley 2000). After Beissel's death in 1768, Peter Miller succeeded his leadership. Miller did not evangelize and proselytize as Beissel did, and was unable to attract new members to the solitary orders even from the families of the Householders.

Beissel believed in the superiority of celibacy (Doll 1951). The Ephrata cloister community was organized into three groups – a celibate Brotherhood, a celibate Sisterhood, and a congregation of married couples, or Householders. Members frequently shifted their membership from one group to another (Doll 1951). The communal and celibate orders of Ephrata displaced the natural family altogether. Celibate members were given new names to eliminate family loyalties in favor of spiritual cohesion (Alderfer 1985). Those who did not desire the celibate life of Ephrata but still believed in its theology could join the Householders and remain married, holding a lower spiritual position than the celibates but still benefiting from many features of community life (Andelson 1983). The members of the celibate orders hoped that the children of Householders would go on to become celibate members, but this did not happen with enough frequency to keep the cloisters viable (Dorfman 1978).

The Society of Succoth, also called the Society of Youthful Celibates, was founded at Ephrata in January of 1750. Their numbers consisted of 22 teen-age members. Their baptism into the Society angered many Householders, who were against the practice of child baptism. Some Householders even left Ephrata as a result of the argument. Even worse than the loss of these Householders was the manner in which the Society was organized, which was virtually autonomous. The youth of the membership,

and their immaturity to handle their responsibilities, led the disbanding of the Society 18 months later. It is most likely that these youthful celibates became a permanent loss to the Ephrata community, either as celibate or Householder members (Carpenter 1975). Other than this brief period, the Ephrata cloisters consisted entirely of populations of adults. Therefore, the issue of a period of time like *Rumspringa* is a moot point to discuss here.

*The Amana.*

Shortly after moving to Iowa, about 800 immigrants from Germany added themselves to the Amana community. Many of these people, not being firmly grounded in the faith, left the community. Off and on before the Great Change, people sought admission to the community, and Amana continued to admit people from “the World” to its membership. Newcomers to the community served a period of probation to prove their sincerity for wanting to join the community. Occasionally the children of parents who left the community sought to rejoin Amana after the deaths of their parents, and were readmitted to the community (Chaffee 1927). The Amana sometimes received as many as a dozen letters in a month from people completely unknown to the community; many wrote not to ask permission to join, but to say that they were coming. There were cases where men wrote to say that they had sold all of their possessions, and were on their way, with their family in tow, to join the community. The Amana accepted these new members, but only after a period of evaluation. Random applications were a great source of annoyance to members. Most of the new members they received were from Germany (Nordhoff [1875] 1971).

The Amana actively discouraged marriage and reproduction, believing that the state of celibacy and the single life are part of existing at a higher state of spirituality (Chaffee 1929; Sill 1988). If two members wanted to marry, they had to wait two years from the time of asking the elder's permission to do so; the age at which members were permitted to marry was 20 for women and 24 for men (Chaffee 1927). Those members who did marry were demoted to the lowest spiritual class of the church, and had to work their way back up again. Abstinence was preferred within marriage; each time a child was born to a couple, the couple was again demoted to the lowest spiritual class, to work their way back up again (Chaffee 1929; Sill 1988). The Amana never had a very high birth rate (Cavan 1978; Chaffee 1927). One out of three Amana born between 1800 and 1830 chose to remain celibate (Andelson 1983). Between the years 1908 and 1922, 76% of the number of members added to Amana by birth (359 births) were later lost to members leaving the villages for the outside world (273 left Amana) (Chaffee 1927:49). In keeping with Amana views on sex, at the funeral of a young wife who died in childbirth in 1864, the leader of the Amana at that time gave a testimony that intimated that the young woman should have remained single (Andelson 1983). Marriages between Amana members and outsiders increased until they accounted for 66% of all marriages since WW II (Cavan 1984). If a person married outside of the community, and their spouse desired to become a member, the member spouse was expelled for a year, at the end of which time both were allowed to application to join the community (Nordhoff [1875] 1971).

The Amana did not let their young engage in a time like *Rumspringa* during youth. If a young person left the community, the mother was compelled to go to church

with the younger girls for six months, while the father went to church with the young boys. There was a system of joint accountability to the community that promoted a close, sympathetic relationship between parents and children, and exercised an added restraint upon the young people (Chaffee 1929). Although membership in the community commenced at the age of 14, adulthood really began when the individual reached marriageable age (Andelson 1983). By the 1920s, it became increasingly necessary for the Amana to hire outsiders, because the dissatisfied youth of the population found excuses to not work (Cavan 1978).

### *The Hutterites.*

Hutterites will accept into their community the rare person or family who shows a deep commitment and desire towards the Hutterite way of life (Hostetler 1974). Although these converts are accepted, the requirement of converts to break all ties to the outside world and the austerity of colony life have limited the number of willing converts to the Hutterite way of life (Peters 1965). During the hard times of the Great Depression, some families joined the relative economic safety of the Hutterites by converting, only to leave after the Depression ended. Since their arrival in North America, the Hutterites have accepted less than 60 adult converts; by no means do they rely on outsiders to join their ranks (Hostetler 1974). Hutterites have a defection rate of less than 2% (Bennett 1975).

Marriage is the final step on the Hutterite journey to adulthood (Kraybill and Bowman 2001). While the Hutterites do not believe using artificial methods of birth control, if a doctor tells a couple to stop having children, they generally take the advice. Women close to the onset of menopause are permitted to have a hysterectomy or tubal

ligation (Kraybill and Bowman 2001). Within marriage, children are seen as gifts from God, and Hutterite families are quite large (Hostetler and Huntington 1980).

Adolescence for the Hutterites is from 15 to baptism, which is around age 20. This is the time when young people begin to work on the colony as adults, and also begin to eat with the adults in the dining hall. At this age, parents no longer punish their children using corporal methods. Termed “the foolish years,” minor deviations from the norm of community life, such as smoking, having a radio, and seeing members of the opposite sex, are expected and tolerated. Serious problems like suicide and substance addiction are virtually nonexistent (Ingoldsby 2001). Some young unbaptized Hutterites, both male and female, even leave the colony for a few years to live in “the World,” before returning to become baptized and marry (Bennett 1967).

#### *Analysis.*

**Table 5**

	Amish	Hutterites	Ephrata	Amana
Rely on converts	No	No	Yes	Yes
Encourage marriage	Yes	Yes	No	No
Encourage children	Yes	Yes	No	No
A form of Rumspringa	Yes	Yes	N/A	No

The issue of relying on converts to make up continuing membership is of great importance to group success. When compared with whether a group encourages marriage and children, it is evident that the groups who do not encourage marriage or children allow outsiders to join their ranks, and groups that do encourage marriage and

children do not readily allow outsiders to join. It is the greater question of where groups are procuring their new members that is the most important determining factor in whether or not a group will be successful.

Children are an important source of new membership in a religious group. They are socialized from birth, have strong ties to the religious community in which they belong, and are constantly influenced by family and friends who are members. When a group discourages marriage and procreation, they are instantly cutting themselves off from a reliable source of membership, and not only in an exponential sense. If the Ephrata cloisters and Amana villages had been able to attract new members who were committed to joining, there is a chance their groups would have been more successful.

In her essay *Colony Girl*, Ruth Baer Lambach describes her childhood among the Hutteries, where she lived from the ages of seven to 13, 1949 – 1955. Lambach's family was originally Mennonite, until her father one day made the decision that it was in his family's spiritual best interest to join the Hutterite faith and way of colony life. "As converts we had to be super-Hutterites..." she states, as she recounts at length how she and her siblings always had to be on their best, perfect behavior, how her family's living quarters always had to be cleaner than anyone else's, how she had to be perfect in everything she did, in order for her family to prove their commitment to the group (Chmielewski et al. 1993). Indeed, it is rare for Hutterites to accept new members from outside the colony, as opposed to the Amana, who were bombarded with new members, many of whom left the villages after a short period of time. However, the Amana, in rejecting marriage and children, had no choice in accepting these new members; they

could not turn them away, not with so many of their own young people leaving the villages and such a very low birthrate.

### Conclusion

This thesis has attempted to answer the question: How have the Old Order Amish of Lancaster County managed to remain a distinct and flourishing group? Using the comparative historical methodology, I have compared the Amish to three other religious groups: the Ephrata cloister community, the Amana villages, and Hutterites. The Amish and Hutterites are successful groups; the Ephrata and Amana were not successful in maintaining their unique groups. After an analysis of answers that have previously been concluded to the question of how the Amish have managed to remain a distinct and flourishing group (such as distinctive dress and language), along with answers of my own (the use of a historical text) and several group characteristics which are not found in all four groups, we end up with the final table on the next page:



**Table 6**

	Amish	Hutterites	Ephrata	Amana
Adult Baptism	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Pietist	No	No	Yes	Yes
Persecuted in Europe	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Emigrated as a group	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Historical text	Yes	Yes	No	No
Distinctive dress	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes, up until 1932
Distinctive language	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes, up until 1932
Higher education	No	No	N/A	Yes
Socially Isolated	Yes	Yes	No	No
Geographically Isolated	No	Yes	No	No
Ties to the land	Yes	Yes	No	No
Community of goods	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Rely on converts	No	No	Yes	Yes
Encourage marriage	Yes	Yes	No	No
Encourage children	Yes	Yes	No	No
A form of <i>Rumspringa</i>	Yes	Yes	N/A	No

Based on this table, the factors important to group success are: use of a historical text, social isolation, ties to the land, not relying on converts for new membership, encouraging marriage, and encouraging children. Factors that are unclear in their necessity to group success (because of lack of proper comparative data) are: higher education and a form of *Rumspringa*. Factors that have apparently no bearing on success

or failure are: belief in adult baptism, a history of the group being persecuted in Europe or emigrating en masse to the Americas, and practicing a community of goods. While the table would seem to indicate that being Pietist is a factor in group success or failure, that conclusion can be discredited by the example of the Old Order German Baptist Brethren.

The use of a historical text helps to preserve the group's collective memory. In the case of the Amish, their historical texts preserve the group's memory of the persecution and martyrdom of early group members in Europe. This recollection of group memory helps to form group member's identities.

Before a group can preserve a collective memory, it must have a reliable source of new membership for this collective memory to be passed on to. The Amish accomplish this by encouraging their married couples to have large families with many children. The Amish do not use contraceptives; they allow as many children as "nature" will bring them. The Amish also encourage their young adults to marry, thus cementing the reproduction of new members. Marriage is seen as the final rite of passage to adulthood in the Amish culture. In the Ephrata and Amana communities, marriage was not prohibited, but was definitely discouraged, being viewed in both communities as a lower state of spiritual being. To the Amish and Hutterites, marriage is tantamount to true adulthood.

However, just having lots of children isn't enough to keep them in the community. The Amish, especially those in Lancaster County, who have become a tourist attraction, must work hard at keeping their flock together. Strong ties with non-group members, and weak ties with group members, can make it easier for a person to leave the group. Interactions with those outside the group can also have a strong impact

on the group member's worldview. When we consider that evidence shows religious pluralism having a direct negative effect on church adherence rates (Olson 1999), it becomes obvious that in order for the Amish to survive as a group, they must "keep to themselves." Additionally, members who convert rather than are born into the group can bring outside ideas into the group with them, creating tension within the group.

One way in which the Lancaster County Amish achieve isolation is through farming, which they hold as something that is demanded of them by the Bible. By working on family farms, the Amish avoid coming into contact with others in such employment settings as factory work, education, and the service industry. It also gives them an economic independence, where they have to rely on the outside world for few things. This economic independence creates a strong barrier between members and non-members, as members do not need to rely on non-members for their economic survival. However, as land becomes ever more scarce and expensive in Lancaster County, young Amish persons are more often faced with the fact that farming just is not a possibility for them. More and more Lancaster County Amish are engaging in non-farming work, such as owning small shops or businesses. This change can be compared to the economic practices of the Amana, which were never self-sufficient, always relying on outsiders to purchase their goods, bringing residents of the Amana villages into constant contact with people from outside the community. Will this drastic change in the Amish economy eventually bring about the end of their unique way of life? Only in time will we learn this answer.

This thesis is not solely about the Amish and what factors have contributed to their success. Nor is it solely about the Ephrata, Amana, or Hutterites. These factors can

be applied more broadly to other groups or communities, in an analysis of what factors may lead to building a successful group. The final, overarching conclusion that should be drawn from this particular analysis is that isolation is critically important to maintaining a successful and unique group or community. Isolation of the group creates a boundary between members and non-members. This isolation and boundary creation can be achieved through several means: by not allowing outsiders to join the group and instead generating new members through reproduction, by isolating the group from the dominant culture by making it economically self-sufficient, and by prohibiting members from having ties with persons outside of the community.

The next logical question to ask is why does it seem that certain forms of isolation are better at creating boundaries than others? Why does it seem that economic self-sufficiency creates a stronger boundary than speaking a distinctive dialect? Are actual physical boundaries, such as living in an isolated spot as the Hutterites do or having private schools, stronger than the boundaries created between members and non-members by requiring members to dress and speak differently? Do these factors work together in combinations to promote the success of a group? If so, what is the strongest combination of factors? Clearly, there is a need for further research.

Further research could include analysis of more factors that may be of importance to maintaining a successful group. Such research could also include other comparison groups, such as the Schwenkfelders, Old Order German Baptist Brethren, Mennonites, Snow Hill cloister, and Bruderhof, in order to strengthen conclusions drawn from a comparative analysis. Comparative analysis involving these other groups could also

more decisively determine if limiting education and allowing youth to engage in a period of *Rumspringa*-like time are factors important to group success.

Finally, I would like to state that I fully acknowledge the limitations of this thesis. While I have engaged in research and literature review for over seven months now, it would be untrue to say I have reviewed and read everything that could possibly have been of importance to this thesis and its investigation. What I have tried to do is review some of the best examples of literature on the Amish, Ephrata, Amana, and Hutterites, as well as current literature on groups, collective memory, and religion; these pieces can be found in the annotated bibliography of this thesis. While I was fortunate enough to obtain a research grant to visit the Ephrata cloister, future research could involve visiting the Amish of Lancaster County, the Amana villages, and Hutterite colonies.

## Annotated Bibliography

Agarwala, R., Schaffer, A.A., Tomlin, J.F. (2001). Towards a complete North American Anabaptist genealogy II: Analysis of inbreeding. *Human Biology*, 73, 4, 533 – 545.

In this paper, authors show that over time there is a steady increase in both the fraction of consanguineous marriages and the amount of inbreeding in consanguineous marriages.

Alderfer, E.G. (1985). *The Ephrata commune: An early American counterculture*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Alderfer's history of the Ephrata community. Must be approached with caution, as Alderfer never visited Ephrata, and draws heavily off of Sachse's *The German Sectarians of Pennsylvania*.

Andelson, J.G. (1981). The double bind and social change in communal Amana. *Human Relations*, 34, 2, 111 – 125.

Article explores the reaction of the Amana to the "double bind": An environment with unresolvable sequences of experiences.

Andelson, J.G. (1983). Communitarianism, familism, and individualism among the Inspirationists at Amana. *International Journal of Sociology of the Family*, 13, 2, 45 – 62.

Article examines the nature of family life in the Amana, with particular reference to children.

Appling, G.B. (1975). Amish Protestantism and the spirit of capitalism. *The Cornell Journal of Social Relations*, 10, 2, 239 – 250.

Article argues that the economic ethic of the Amish provides sufficient explanation as to the sect's success at maintaining a non-capitalistic way of life.

Aurand, M.A. Jr. (1940). *Historical account of the Ephrata cloister and the Seventh Day Baptist Society*. Harrisburg, PA: The Aurand Press.

A tourist pamphlet, published privately by Aurand, giving a history of the Ephrata cloister. This piece should be approached with caution for two reasons: first, it relies heavily on Sachse's *The German Sectarians of Pennsylvania*. Secondly, Aurand was the publisher whose inaccurate publications on the Amish first incited Hostetler to write (see Hostetler, 1992).

Bach, J. (2003). *Voices of the turtledoves: The sacred world of the Ephrata*. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press.

Originally published as Bach's PhD dissertation at Duke University, this work has become the new "it" text when dealing with the Ephrata community.

Bainbridge, W.S. (1997). *The Sociology of Religious Movements*. New York: Routledge.

Book focuses on sectarian movements, including those that resulting from the Methodist church, the Adventist movement of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and sects whose focus was living in communally.

Barthel, D. (1984). *Amana: from Pietist sect to American community*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Book chronicles the history of the Inspirationists at Amana, from their Germanic origins to their migration to New York and later Iowa, to the Great Change of 1932 and the modern-day tourist industry surrounding the villages.

Barthel, D. (1989). The American commune and the American mythology. *Qualitative Sociology*, 12, 3, 241 – 260.

Looks at how American culture has constructed a mythos about the way life in Amana used to be. Author argues that these communes have become symbolic of the possible and the impossible, suggestive of what lies down paths not followed by the rest of the nation. They provide reassurance that, with all of our societal conflicts and contradictions, we are still on the right path

Barthel-Bouchier, D. (2001). Authenticity and identity: Theme-parking the Amanas. *International Sociology*, 16, 2, 221 – 239.

Article about the authentic representation of the past in environments such as present-day Amana villages, versus the theme-parking of such historical environments.

Bennett, J.W. (1967). *Hutterian Brethren*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

This book is the end result of a study of six Hutterian colonies in Saskatchewan during the mid-1960s.

Bennett, J.W. (1975). Communes and communitarianism. *Theory and Society*, 2, 1, 63 – 94.

Article examines the interaction between the communal environment and the individual's search for identity.

Best, J.E. (1993). Turmoil in Conestoga. *Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage*, 11, 1, 2 – 27.

Article tells the story of the effect of the crisis, precipitated by Conrad Beissel, on the families in the area of the Conestoga River in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, and the turmoil created by his charismatic personality and religious teachings before and after the founding of the Ephrata cloister in 1732.

Beyerlein, K. (2004). Specifying the impact of conservative Protestantism on educational attainment. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 43, 4, 505 – 518.

In response to Darnell and Sherkat (1997), the author analyzes levels of educational attainment between 3 conservative branches of Protestantism: fundamentalist, Pentecostal, and evangelist. Author states that Protestantism should not be treated as one monolithic religious bloc.

Bibby, R.W., Brinkerhoff, M.B. (1983). Circulation of the Saints revisited: A longitudinal look at conservative church growth. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 22, 3, 253 – 262.

Author's findings on research in Canada support the secularization thesis and are to be expected in all highly industrialized societies.

Bollinter, B., Palkovitz, R. (2003). The relationship between expression of spiritual faith and parental involvement in three groups of fathers. *Journal of Men's Studies*, 11, 2, 117.

Article investigates the correlation between a father's faith as expressed in his participation in religious activities, and involvement in the raising of his children.

Bradley, J. (1996). Pushing William Penn's "holy experiment" to its limits: Ephrata cloister. *Pennsylvania Heritage*, 22, 4, 14 – 24.

Article chronicles the history of the Ephrata cloister community. Contains many pictures of the cloister and modern-day reenactors in Ephrata cloister costume.

Bradley, J. (2000). *Ephrata cloister: Pennsylvania trails of history guide*. Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books.

This is the current book being sold at the Ephrata cloister museum as its trail guide. Gives a history of the Ephrata cloister, which experts acknowledge is solid and good.



Buck, R.C. (1978). Boundary maintenance revisited: Tourist experience in an Old Order Amish Community. *Rural Sociology*, 43, 2, 221 – 231.

Article reports the condition of the tourist industry in Lancaster County, PA, surrounding the Old Order Amish there, and how the Amish have balanced their way of life with the intrusion of tourism.

Bushee, F.A. (1905). Communistic societies in the United States. *Political Science Quarterly*, 20, 4, 625 – 664.

Author's purpose is to point out some of the salient features of representative societies and draw certain conclusions concerning their social movement as a whole.

Calhoun, C. (ed.). (1994). *Social theory and the politics of identity*. Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers.

Chapter 6: *The formation of we-images: A process theory*, by Stephen Mennell.

Campbell, D.T. (1975). "Degrees of freedom" and the case study. *Comparative Political Studies*, 8, 2, 178 – 193.

Article strongly cautions against the single case study approach. Securing scientific evidence involves making at least one comparison.

Carpenter, D. (1975). *The Radical Pietists*. New York: AMS Press.

Gives a history of the Radical Pietist movement in Germany, and catalogs several Pietist groups, including the Ephrata.

Catton, W.R. Jr. (1960 – 61). The functions and dysfunctions of ethnocentrism: A theory. *Social Problems*, 8, 3, 201 – 211.

This article attempts to develop a set of systematically interrelated and researchable hypotheses about ethnocentrism. The author identifies the Pennsylvania Amish as an example of ethnocentrism resulting in withdrawal, stemming from their desire to isolate themselves from the surrounding "worldly" society.

Cavan, R.S. (1978). The future of a historic commune: Amana. *International Review of Modern Sociology*, 8, 1, 89 – 101.

Article looks at the history of the Amana (prior to 1978), and makes predictions based on then-current states as to what the future might be like for the Amana.

Cavan, R.S. (1984). Public and private areas and the survival of communal subsocieties. *Journal of Voluntary Action Research*, 13, 2, 46 – 58.

Article makes comparisons between the Old Order Amish and the Amana colonies in her analysis of how either group reacts to tourism. These reactions help to establish community boundaries of public and private space, which in turn are key to maintaining a distinct community.

Cerulo, K.A. (1997). Identity construction: New issues, new directions. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 23, 385 – 409.

Article explores agendas of the study of identity as raised in key works published since 1980.

Chaffee, G. E. (1927). *A sociological investigation of the Amana and Amish*. MA Thesis: The University of Chicago.

Chaffee's 1927 master's thesis, the earliest comparative work between the Amish and Amana I could find. It is interesting to read this piece with the foreknowledge that 5 years later, the Amana experienced their "Great Change." Thesis takes a much more in-depth look at the Amana than the Amish.

Chaffee, G.E. (1929). Control in an integrated social group. *Social Forces*, 8, 1, 91 – 95.

Article is interested in the relationship of the family institution to the wider community, specifically in the Amana colonies.

Chaffee, G.E. (1930). The isolated religious sect as an object for social research. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 35, 4, 618 – 630.

Author makes an analysis of the Amana colonies, in order to shed light upon the evolution of a culture and the problems of social origin and social change.

Chaves, M. (1994). Secularization as declining religious authority. *Social Forces*, 72, 3, 749 – 774.

Article discusses several descriptive and theoretical outcomes of the conceptual innovation that secularization is really the decline of religious authority rather than the decline of religion.

Chaves, M. (1995). On the rational choice approach to religion. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 34, 1, 98 – 104.

Author claims that the rational choice approach to religion does not, except in a very weak sense, constitute a unified approach based on formal deductive theory and modeling, and common claims to the contrary mischaracterize what is the case

Chmielewski, W.E., Kern, L.J., Klee-Hartzell, M. (1993). *Women in spiritual and communitarian societies in the United States*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.

In chapter 14, a former colony girl describes her childhood among the Hutteries of the Northern Plains, where she lived from the ages of 7 to 13, 1949 – 1955

Cohen, C.L. (1997). The post-Puritan paradigm of early American religious history. *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3, 54, 4, 695 – 772.

Three developments, the emergence of social history, the ‘discovery’ of popular religion, and the renewed awareness of the colonies’ transatlantic connections, have helped underwrite the fresh outlook, whose operative p-word is pluralism, not Puritanism.

Collins, R. (ed.). (1994). *Four sociological traditions: Selected readings*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Book contains Durkheim’s *Precontractual solidarity* (1893) and *Social rituals and sacred objects* (1912).

Conyngham, R., Esq. (1830). The Dunkers at Ephrata. *The Register of Pennsylvania*, 21, 331 – 334.

Article gives Conyngham’s account, dating 30 to 40 years prior to publication (circa 1800) of the Dunkers at Ephrata, or in other words, the ascetic community of the Ephrata cloisters.

Cornwall, M. (1989). The determinants of religious behavior: A theoretical model and empirical test. *Social Forces*, 68, 2, 572 – 592.

Article examines five categories of factors that have been found to influence religious behavior (group involvement, belief-orthodoxy, religious commitment, religious socialization, and sociodemographic characteristics), and suggests alternative ways of measuring the various factors and presents a theoretical model.

Crowley, W.K. (1978). Old Order Amish settlements: Diffusion and growth. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 68, 2, 249 – 264.

Article charts where Old Order Amish groups live: where they have migrated to, where they have split into separate groups, which of these groups are surviving, which are extinct, etc.

Darnell, A., Sherkat, D.E. (1997). The impact of Protestant fundamentalism on educational attainment. *American Sociological Review*, 62, 2, 306 – 315.

Article examines how fundamentalist Protestant cultural orientations discourage educational pursuits, using data from the Youth Parent Socialization Panel Study.

Davis, D.H. (1936). Amana: A study of occupance. *Economic Geography*, 12, 3, 217 – 230.

Article is mostly geographic information about the Amana colony in Iowa.

Deets, L.E. (1975). *The Hutterites: a study in social cohesion*. Philadelphia: Porcupine Press.

Reprint of Deet's 1939 thesis, Columbia. Contains a new epilogue by the author and an appendix, *The origins of conflict in the Hutterische communities*.

Diener, P. (1974). Ecology or evolution? The Hutterite case. *American Ethnologist* 1, 4, 601 – 618.

Article compares ecological and evolutionary models within the context of the Hutterites.

DiMaggio, P. (1997). Culture and cognition. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 23, 263 – 287.

Article focuses on how people use culture, rather than the production of culture, ideology, or culture embedded in the physical environment

Doll, E.E. (n.d.). *The Ephrata cloister: An introduction*. Ephrata, PA: Ephrata Cloister Associates, Inc.

Published by the Ephrata Cloister Associates with The assistance of the Pennsylvania Historical and museum Commission, pamphlet gives the history of the Ephrata cloister, from inception to the death of its last remaining members.

Doll, E.E. (1951). Social and economic organizations in two Pennsylvania German religious communities. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 57, 2, 168 – 177.

Article gives an analysis of the Ephrata community and the Moravian (*Unitas fratrum*) settlement at Bethlehem.

Donovan, J.M. (2000). A Brazilian challenge to Lewis's explanation of cult mediumship. *Journal of Contemporary Religion*, 15, 3, 361 – 377.

Article finds data contrary to this theory that persons drawn to peripheral possession trance cults are persons who are politically powerless and socio-economically marginalized, and that the cult compensates for these defects.

Dorfman, M.H. (1978). The Ephrata cloister. *Early American Life*, 10, 1, 38 – 41.

Article presents a history of the Ephrata cloister. Article also maps out the day-to-day routine of cloister brothers and sisters.

Dorsten, L.E., Hotchkiss, L., King, T.M. (1999). The effect of inbreeding on early childhood mortality: Twelve generations of an Amish settlement. *Demography*, 36, 2, 263 – 271.

Using data from the Lancaster Old Order Amish settlement, authors find that inbreeding, primarily a biological factor, increases the likelihood of death in the neonatal and post neonatal periods of early childhood, net of survival status of the immediately preceding sibling and other variables.

Draper, P. (1974). Comparative studies of socialization. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 3, 263-277.

Article deals with four areas of the comparative study of childhood: systematic ethnographic reports on child life in non-Western societies, education and anthropology, cognitive style and socialization, and socialization for sex role. Refers to Hostetler and Huntington's studies of Hutterite and Amish socialization patterns.

Eaton, J.W. (1952). Controlled acculturation: A survival technique of the Hutterites. *American Sociological Review*, 17, 3, 331 – 340.

Article goes into in-depth analysis of controlled acculturation: the process by which one culture accepts a practice from another culture, but integrates the new practice into its own existing value system.

Engle, T.L. (1953). Attitudes toward war as expressed by Amish and non-Amish children: A follow-up study. *The Elementary School Journal*, 53, 6, 345 – 351.

Previous study found that non-Amish children were more in favor of WWII at the time than Amish children, the difference being statistically significant in boys. In this article, the total non-Amish children are somewhat more favorable toward war than are the total Amish children, but the difference is not significant.

Erb, P.C. (ed.). (1987). *Schwenkfelders in America*. Pennsburg, PA: Schwenkfelder Library.

Book is a compilation of academic papers presented at a colloquium on Caspar Schwenkfeld and the Schwenkfelders, Pennsburg, PA, September 17 – 22, 1984.

Ericksen, J.A., Ericksen, E.P., Hostetler, J.A., Huntington, G.E. (1979). Fertility patterns and trends among the Old Order Amish. *Population Studies*, 33, 2, 255 – 276.

Article investigates the following: how high is Amish fertility, and what has been the trend in the level over time? Is there any evidence of fertility control among the Amish? What are the social and cultural factors associated with the maintenance of high fertility patterns?

Fabbro, D. (1978). Peaceful societies: An introduction. *Journal of Peace Research*, 15, 1, 76 – 83.

Makes comparative analysis of several “peaceful societies”, including the Hutterites.

Fahnestock, W.M., M.D. (1835). An historical sketch of Ephrata. *Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania*, 15, 11, 161 – 167.

Gives a history and biographical account of the Seventh-Day Baptist Society of Pennsylvania (Dunkers, Ephrata cloister).

Fairhurst, J.P. (1973). Ephrata cloister. *Early American Life*, 4, 3, 20 – 24.

Article presents the history of the Ephrata cloister, through a narrative of a modern-day tour of the cloister grounds and buildings.

Faris, E. (1955). The sect and the sectarian. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 60, 6, Supplement: *The Early and the Contemporary Study of Religion*, 75 – 89.

Author provides an analysis of sect and the historical development of sects. Provides information on the Amana colonies.

Finke, R. (1997). An orderly return to tradition: Explaining the recruitment of members into Catholic religious orders. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 36, 2, 218 – 230.

Article analyzes post-Vatican II female Catholic religious orders, and finds support for the thesis that when religious orders limit nongroup activities they are more successful in recruiting new members.

Finke, R., Stark, R. (2000). *The Churching of America, 1776 – 1990*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Book attempts to explain and explore how and why America has shifted from a nation in which most people took no part in organized religion to a nation in which nearly 2/3 of American adults do. Points of interest are sect-to-church theory and the authors' analysis of the cost of membership vis a vis gains of membership (Rational Choice theory).

Fisher, K. (2002). Lessons learned while conducting research within an Amish community. *Journal of Multicultural Nursing and Health*, 8, 3, 21 – 28.

Author offers what she has learned about providing culturally sensitive care to a group that is not a member of the dominant culture.

Frantz, J.B. (1976). The awakening of religion among the German settlers in the middle colonies. *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3, 33, 2, 266 – 288.

Article chronicles the German Religious Awakening in the early American colonies. Provides information specific to the Ephrata community.

Freed, S.A. (1957). Suggested type societies in acculturation studies. *American Anthropologist*, 59, 1, 5 – 68.

Article looks at several societies with successful perpetuative movements, including the Ephrata and Amish. Freed states that the reasons for the short life of the Ephrata community are not clear, but are probably because they failed to achieve the same level of social and economic organization that the Amish did.

Gedi, N., Elam, Y. (1996). Collective memory – what is it? *History and Memory*, 8, 1, 30.

Collective memory is but a misleading new name for the old familiar myth that can be identified, in its turn, with collective or social stereotypes. Indeed, collective memory is but a myth.

Gibbons, P.E. (1874). *Pennsylvania Dutch and other essays*. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co.

A collection of essays by the author about several Pennsylvania Dutch communities, including the Ephrata and Schwenkfelders.

Gibbons, P.E. ([1882] 2001). *Pennsylvania Dutch and other essays*. Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books.

A later edition and reprinting of the 1874 edition.

Gillin, J.L. (1910). A contribution to the sociology of sects. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 16, 2, 236 – 252.

This article takes a more sociological/social theory approach as to why the early Anabaptists in Europe engaged in the practices they did (rejecting pedobaptism, refusing to serve in the military, dressing plainly, etc.).

Glasser, B.G., Strauss, A.L. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

Book advocates a general comparative method for generating grounded theory.

Gutkind, P.C.W. (1953). The Old Order Amish people of northern Indiana. *Man*, 53, 114 – 116.

A very short, dated treatise on Amish in Indiana. Interesting to note some of the vocabulary differences in the “Pennsylvania Dutch” between these Amish and the Amish in Lancaster County, PA.

Hadaway, C.K., Marler, P.L. (1996). Response to Iannaccone: Is there a method to this madness? *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 35, 3, 217 – 222.

Offers a response to Iannaccone’s *article Reassessing church growth: Statistical pitfalls and their consequences* by offering the theory that the article is not really an effort to address weaknesses in church growth research; that it is, instead, a not-so-subtle effort to promote a particular version of rational choice theory without having to present any data which supports it directly.

Hark, J.M. (trans.). ([1786] 1889). *Chronicon Ephratense*. Lancaster, PA: S.H. Zahm & Co.

The history of the Ephrata community, written by two of its members in 1786, and later translated to English in 1889. This account of the history of the cloisters and surrounding church community is based upon a manuscript reportedly kept by Jacob Glass, or Brother Lamech, who died in 1764. The manuscript was later edited by Peter Miller, pen named Brother Agrippa, for publishing.

Harrison, M.I. (1974). Sources of recruitment to Catholic Pentecostalism. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 13, 1, 49 – 64.



Article takes observational interviews and questionnaire data on participants and non-participants in Catholic Pentecostalism to understand sources of recruitment to the movement.

Harrison, W. (1992). The role of women in Anabaptist thought and practice: The Hutterite experience of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 23, 1, 49 – 69.

Article contributes to the research on Anabaptist women, specifically Hutterite women. Author states that the basic conclusion of the research on women and Anabaptism remains consistently the same: through the mid-seventeenth century Anabaptist thought and practice regarding women reflected the perceptions and expectations of their contemporary world.

Hartse, C.M. (1994). The emotional acculturation of Hutterite defectors. *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 50, 1, 69.

Article gives a qualitative account of 3 ex-Hutterites and their journey into conservative Protestantism.

Hayward, J. (2002). A dynamic model of church growth and its application to contemporary revivals. *Review of Religious Research*, 43, 3, 218 – 241.

Article sets up a dynamic model of such church growth (conversion), based on the methods of systems dynamics, capable of giving qualitative analysis and quantitative simulations of growth.

Hechter, M. (1987). *Principles of group solidarity*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Author of this book rejects the Normativist, Functionalist, and Structuralist explanations for group solidarity, in favor of his own theory based on the ideas of the Rational Choice theory.

Henry, L. (1980). Some remarks on the paper by Julia Ericksen et al., 'fertility patterns and trends among the Old Order Amish.' *Population Studies*, 34, 3, 564.

Author offers criticism of the Julia Ericksen et al. *Fertility patterns and trends among the Old Order Amish*.

Hillery, G.A. Jr. (1971). Freedom and social organization: A comparative analysis. *American Sociological Review*, 36, 1, 51 – 65.

Article's hypothesis: If a human group is primarily oriented to the attainment of a specific goal, then it excludes familial behavior

Hobsbawm, E.J. (1972). The social function of the past: Some questions. *Past and Present*, 55, 3 – 17.

Article offers some possible lines of discussion on the topic of the nature of the 'sense of the past' in society. "The belief that the present should reproduce the past normally implies a fairly slow rate of historic change, for otherwise it would neither be nor seem to be realistic, except at the cost of immense social effort and the sort of isolation just referred to (as with the Amish and similar sectarians in the modern day USA)."

Hoge, D.R. (1996). Response to Iannaccone: Three important clarifications. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 35, 3, 223 – 225.

Author makes several clarifications in response to Iannaccone's article on church growth.

Hoge, D.R., Petrillo, G.H., Smith, E.I. (1982). Transmission of religious and social values from parents to teenage children. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 44, 3, 569 – 580.

Article uses 254 mother-father-youth triads gathered from Catholic, Baptist, and Methodist churches to look at patterns of parent-child value transmission. Results indicate that value socialization takes place in cultural subgroups more than in nuclear families.

Holloway, M. (1966). *Heavens on earth: Utopian communities in America 1680 – 1880*. New York: Dover Publications, Inc.

Book chronicles the comings of Europeans to the Americas, and several Utopian Communities founded by these Europeans. Book includes information about the Ephrata cloister.

Honigmann, J.J. (1959). Psychocultural studies. *Biennial Review of Anthropology*, 1, 67 – 106.

The main subject of this article's review is studies published between 1955 and 1957 that deal with psychological characteristics viewed from the standpoint of culture and with cultural phenomena conceptualized in psychodynamic terms. Studies with Hutterite subjects are referred to.

Hostetler, J.A. (1964). The Amish use of symbols and their function in bounding the community. *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 94, 1, 11 – 22.

Article explores how the Amish maintain the material boundaries that have been so vital to their survival as an independent, culturally distinct group. In this article, Hostetler focuses primarily on the dress of the Old Order Amish, and its impact on Amish society.

Hostetler, J.A. (1974). *Hutterite society*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Hostetler's definitive work on the Hutterites. Covers many aspects of Hutterite social and economic life in-depth.

Hostetler, J.A. (ed.). (1992). *Amish roots: A treasury of history, wisdom, and lore*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

A compilation of various Amish writings. Forward by Hostetler.

Hostetler, J.A. (1992). An Amish beginning. *The American Scholar*, 61, 4, 552 – 562.

Hostetler recounts his departure from the Amish community, his journey through higher education, and his reasons as to why he studies the Amish and other plain people, and writes so prolifically about them.

Hostetler, J.A. (1993). *Amish society (fourth edition)*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press.

The last edition of this book to be published before Hostetler's death in 2001, this is his definitive history and sociological/anthropological analysis of the Amish.

Hostetler, J.A., Huntington, G.E. (1980). *The Hutterites in North America*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

This book, co-authored by Hostetler (project director) and Huntington (principle fieldworker), is the result of a long-term participant observation study of the Hutterites. The authors sought to answer two fundamental questions in their research design surrounding this book: 1) under what conditions and by what methods are moral values transmitted to children in a communal society, and 2) under what conditions does the person who is trained for communal living deviate from the moral teachings of his society.

Huffman, D.W. (2000). Life in a Hutterite colony: An outsider's experience and reflections on a forgotten people in our midst. *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, 59, 4, 549 – 571.

Article attempts to discover the qualities that have enabled Hutterites colonies to survive and thrive in North America. Article concludes that the Hutterite's

community of goods and self-surrender to the will of God are central factors that explain their long-term survival and high degree of social cohesion.

Iannaccone, L.R. (1994). Why strict churches are strong. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 99, 5, 1880 – 1211.

Article on the rational choice theory/free rider problem. Strict churches reduce free riding. Article draws on Kraybill's analysis of how the Amish maintain cultural boundaries by negotiating what innovations they will accept and what they will prohibit.

Ingoldsby, B.B. (2001). The Hutterite Family in Transition. *Journal of Comparative Family*, 32, 3, 377 – 392.

Article describes current family life and patterns among the Hutterites. This is the first piece of literature since the mid-1970's to report on the Hutterites using recent figures and facts, not those regurgitated from prior work.

Kalberg, S. (trans.). ([1920] 2002). *The Protestant ethic & the spirit of capitalism*. Los Angeles: Roxbury Publishing Company.

A new translation of Max Weber's work on the Protestant work ethic.

Kanter, R.M. (1968). Commitment and social organization: A study of commitment mechanisms in utopian communities. *American Sociological Review*, 33, 4, 499 – 517.

Article proposes three types of commitment: continuance, cohesion, and control. Then takes utopian communities and does statistical analysis, based upon how long communities lasted.

Kanter, R.M. (1972). *Commitment and community: Communes and utopias in sociological perspective*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Book is an analysis of commitment mechanisms using nineteenth-century utopian communities as data.

Kenny, M.G. (1999). A place for memory: The interface between individual and collective history. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 41, 3, 420 – 437.

Article explores the social processes through which personal memory becomes collectivized and collective memory is instantiated through autobiographical recollection, using a comparative perspective.

Kidder, R.L., Hostetler, J.A. (1990). Managing ideologies: Harmony as ideology in Amish and Japanese societies. *Law & Society Review*, 24, 4, 895-922.

This article compares Amish and Japanese societies. Shows how much the two cultures have in common in the way they practice the avoidance of social conflict, as well as involvement with law enforcement.

Kirchner, W. (1974). State and Anabaptists in the sixteenth century: An economic approach. *The Journal of Modern History*, 46, 1, 1 – 25.

Article takes the point of view of the post-medieval state, as to why it was so anti-Anabaptist.

Klassen, W. (1973). *Anabaptism: neither Catholic nor Protestant*. Waterloo, Ont.: Conrad Press.

Book gives a basic breakdown of the conditions surrounding the Anabaptist break from the Catholic and Reform churches. Chronicles the religious breaks made by Anabaptist leaders.

Kollmorgen, W.M. (1943). The agricultural stability of the Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonites of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 49, 3, 233 – 241.

Article gives an analysis of Amish and Mennonite farmers in Lancaster County, PA, offering a socio-historical analysis as to why they are such productive farmers, and why they have continued in this way of life.

Kraybill, D.B. (2001). *The riddle of Amish culture (revised edition)*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Kraybill attempts to answer a larger, more overarching question: how do the Amish handle new technology? Where do they “draw the line”, and what effect does this line have on the Amish people as a whole? How does Amish society work? This book focuses on the Lancaster County, PA group of Amish.

Kraybill, D.B., Bowman, C.F. (2001). *On the backroad to heaven: Old Order Hutterites, Mennonites, Amish, and Brethren*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

This book examines the four dominant Old Order Anabaptist groups in the United States today: the Hutterites, the Mennonites, the Amish, and Old Order Brethren (Dunkards). Kraybill examines each sect, in comparison and contrast with each other, and with the dominant culture in the United States at large.

Kraybill, D.B., Hostetler, J.A., Shaw, D.G. (1986). Suicide Patterns in a Religious Subculture. The Old Order Amish. *International Journal of Moral and Social Studies*, 1, 3, 249 – 263.

Article states that no research has been conducted examining the suicide patterns of homogeneous, small religious subcultures that deviate from the dominant society . Suicides among Lancaster County Amish are clustered over several short time spans, which suggest that social pressures of that particular era may have been particularly stressful.

Lam, P.Y. (2002). As the flocks gather: How religion affects voluntary association participation. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 41, 3, 405 – 422.

The results from this study show that all four dimensions of religiosity promote voluntary association participation in terms of membership and volunteering. In the affiliative dimension, the findings show that, overall, religious affiliation does encourage voluntary group involvement.

Lawson, R. (1999). When immigrants take over: The impact of immigrant growth on American Seventh-day Adventism's trajectory from sect to denomination. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 38, 1, 83 – 102.

Article analyzes the impact of the influx of immigrant members from countries in the developing world on the Seventh-day Adventist Church in the United States. Article poses the question of whether the influx of immigrants will reverse the trajectory from sect toward denomination of Adventism in North American, making it generally more sectarian.

Lechner, F. J. (1991). The case against secularization: A rebuttal. *Social Forces*, 69, 4, 1103 – 1119.

In this article the author critically examine the case against secularization, and finds the case against secularization to be lacking.

Lee, S.C., Bratrud, A. (1967). Marriage under a monastic mode of life: A preliminary report on the Hutterite family in South Dakota. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 29, 3, 512 – 520.

Article gives an analysis of the family patterns in Hutterite colonies. Finds that the family is secondary to the church as a social unit, and that the nuclear family is not universal, when given the Hutterite family as example.

Loomis, C.P., Beegle, A. (1958). A typological analysis of social systems. *Sociometry*, 11, 3, 147 – 191.

Article integrates sociometry, sociology, and cultural anthropology in its comparison of an Amish family, a Latin American ditch association, and a federal government bureau in the United States Department of Agriculture as social systems.

Loomis, C.P., Dyer, E.D. (eds.). (1976). *Social Systems: The Study of Sociology*. Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman.

Chapter 1 of this book looks at the Old Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania as an example of a social system, in order to introduce concepts and illustrate their use in analytical application.

Luebke, F.C. (1977). Ethnic group settlement on the Great Plains. *The Western Historical Quarterly*, 8, 4, 405 – 430.

Looks at groups that have settled on the Great Plains, and offers a few insights about the Hutterites.

Mahoney, J., Rueschemeyer, D. (eds.). (2003). *Comparative historical analysis in the social sciences*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

This book systematically investigates the past accomplishments and future agendas of contemporary comparative historical analysis

Maines, D.R. (2000). The social construction of meaning. *Contemporary Sociology*, 29, 4, 577 – 584.

Article offers a review of works on the “social construction of meaning.”

Markle, G.E., Pasco, S. (1977). Family limitation among the Old Order Amish. *Population Studies*, 31,2, 267-280.

The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate that the Old Order Amish of Indiana deliberately control their marital fertility in accordance with their family income

Martin, T.F., White, J.M., Perlman, D. (2003). Religious socialization: A test of the channeling hypothesis of parental influence on adolescent faith maturity. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 18, 2, 169 – 187.

Article study tests the channeling hypothesis, which argues that parental influences are mediated through both peer selection and congregation selection. It examines both direct and indirect effects that parental influence has on the religiosity of offspring.

Maurer, H.H. (1925). Studies in the sociology of religion II: Religion and American sectionalism. The Pennsylvania German. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 30, 4, 408 – 438.

Article uses German religious groups in America as clinical cases for the study of the significance of religion as a principle of structural and functional individuation.

McCann, S.J.H. (1999). Threatening times and fluctuations in American church membership. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 25, 3, 325 – 336.

The central objective of the two studies reported in this article is to test the hypothesis that threat is associated with larger increases or smaller decreases in the membership of authoritarian denominations and with larger decreases or smaller increases in the membership of non-authoritarian denominations.

Mikesell, M.W., Murphy, A.B. (1991). A framework for comparative study of minority-group aspirations. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 81, 4, 581 – 604.

Authors of this article propose a diagnostic formula that focuses on minority group demands ranging from recognition, access, and participation to separation, autonomy, and independence. Authors identify the Old Order Amish's group aspiration as separation, noting that defection to other, less austere Mennonite congregations and assimilation ("going English") are the main threats to the society.

Miller, A., Stephenson, P. (1980). Jakob Hutter: An interpretation of the individual man and his people. *Ethos*, 8, 3, 229 – 252.

Article's main purpose is to unravel the mystery of how Jakob Hutter effected his group (the Hutterites) so much that they are the most long-lived communal society in the world, by looking at Hutter through and interpretation of him as an individual person.

Monn, E.C. (1927). *Historical sketch of Snow Hill*. Paper read for the Waynesboro Rotary Club.

Pamphlet gives an account of the founding of the Snow Hill cloister, an offshoot of the Ephrata cloister community. Author does use Sachse's information about Beissel, but quotes it as such.

Nettl, B. (1957). The hymns of the Amish: An example of marginal survival. *The Journal of American Folklore*, 70, 278, 323 – 328.



Article looks at the survival of Amish hymns as an example of marginal survival: certain traits of culture which have been lost, or can be assumed to have been present, in the original habitat of the members of a cultural group who have become isolated from the greater society of their group, but have been preserved by the marginalized group.

Nordhoff, C. ([1875] 1971). *The communistic societies of the United States*. New York: Schocken Books.

Book includes chapters on many communal societies in the United States, including a chapter on the Amana. Book is based upon personal observations of these societies.

Olick, J.K. (1999). Collective memory: The two cultures. *Sociological Theory*, 17, 3, 333 – 348.

Article theorizes the differences and relations between individualist and collectivist understandings of collective memory.

Olsen, C.L. (1987). The demography of colony fission from 1878-1970 among the Hutterites of North America. *American Anthropologist, New Series*, 89, 4, 823 – 837.

Looks at the patterns of Hutterite colony fission. Finds through demographic analysis that the model of fission has not always focused on even division of the mother colony into two equal-sized groups but rather that Hutterites have had a fairly constant conceptual model of the size that new colonies should be.

Olshan, M.A. (1990). The Old Order Amish steering committee: A case study in organizational evolution. *Social Forces*, 69, 2, 601 – 616.

This article takes advantage of the formation of the Old Order Amish Steering Committee (1966) to analyze the formation of a bureaucracy.

Olson, D.V.A. (1999). Religious pluralism and US church membership: A reassessment. *Sociology of Religion*, 60, 2, 149 – 173.

Author finds that church membership rates are lower in contemporary US counties having greater religious pluralism and that this negative correlation is unlikely to be spurious.

Packull, W.O. (1991). The Beginning of Anabaptism in Southern Tyrol. *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 22, 4, 717 – 726.

Article attempts to make sense of the migration of Anabaptism to the Tyrol region of present-day Germany.

Payne, J.I. (1971). Analysis of teacher-student classroom interaction in Amish and non-Amish schools. *Social Problems*, 19, 1, 79 – 90.

The purpose of this study was to analyze classroom verbal interaction in Amish and non-Amish schools using a variation of the Flanders Interaction Analysis technique. This study would indicate that teachers in schools in more closed societies exert more direct teacher control over students than do teachers in less closed societies.

Perrin, R.D., Kennedy, P., Miller, D.E. (1997). Examining the sources of conservative church growth: Where are the new evangelical movements getting their numbers? *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 36, 1, 71 – 80.

The primary questions addressed in this article are: where are these new evangelical churches getting their recruits? Are they converts? Are they switchers from other evangelical churches? Are they switchers from mainline churches?

Peter, K.A. (1983). The certainty of salvation: ritualization of religion and economic rationality among Hutterites. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 25, 2, 222 – 240.

Article's study suggests that the routinization of the certainty of salvation among the Hutterites is correlated with the ritualized nature of their religion and the traditional ordering of their society. The rationalization of economic activities among Hutterites seems to have originated as an adaptive response to secure their survival within a given host society.

Peters, V. (1965). *All things common: The Hutterian way of life*. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press.

Book is an ethnic study of Hutterian life in Manitoba, Canada Hutterite colonies. Published in a series of books about ethnic groups in Manitoba

Petranek, C.F. (1988). Recruitment and commitment. *Society*, 25, 2, 48 – 51.

Article finds that, with deeper analysis from the social psychological perspective, there is a self-selection process operating in religious recruitment. Recruits are eliminated by the organization, and recruits remove themselves if they see that they do not fit an ideal model

Pfautz, H.W. (1955). The sociology of secularization: Religious groups. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 61, 2, 121 – 128.

Article looks at four types of religious groups: the cult, the sect, the institutionalized sect, and the denomination. Article is more about following the progress of the Christian Science church through its evolution from cult to beyond.

Pyle, H. (1889). A peculiar people. *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, October, 1889, 776 – 785.

Article gives an ethnographic description of the condition of the Ephrata cloister at the time of publication, and of the members of the church that remains of the former cloister members.

R., P.T. (1967). The right not to be modern men: The Amish and compulsory education. *Virginal Law Review*, 53, 4, 925 – 952.

Article is a defense of the Amish right to choose to keep their children in small Amish-run schools.

Ragin, C.C. (1987). *The Comparative Method: Moving Beyond Qualitative and Quantitative Strategies*. Berkley: University of California Press.

Presents Mills' two methods relevant to case-oriented investigations: method of agreement and indirect method of difference

Raven, B.H. (1999). Kurt Lewin address: Influence, power, religion and the mechanisms of social control. *Journal of Social Issues*, 55, 1, 161 – 186.

Article applies a power/interaction model of interpersonal influence to the analysis of religions as mechanisms of social control. Article is based on a presentation for the Kurt Lewin Award from the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues at the SPSSI Annual Convention.

Reiling, D.M. (2002). Managing the 'marginalized' man: Fieldwork, boundaries, and ethics of involvement. *Journal of Multicultural Nursing and Health*, 8, 3, 15 – 20.

Article is a reflexive, first-person account of need to engage in boundary work in order to keep the lines clear between researcher and subjects while in the field conducting research within an enclave of Old Order Amish.

Reiling, D., Nusbaumer, M.R. (2002). The Amish drug task force: A natural history approach to the construction of a social problem. *Journal of Multicultural Nursing & Health*, 8, 3, 29 – 42.

This article focuses on how the Amish handle substance consumption (tobacco and alcohol) among their unbaptized youth. Focuses on a Midwestern Amish community.

Rosenman, S., Handelsman, I. (1990). The collective past, group psychology, and personal narrative: Shaping Jewish identity by memoirs of the Holocaust. *The American Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 50, 2, 151 – 170.

Article examines the modern collective memory and identity of Jews as shaped by memories of the Holocaust.

Schuman, H., Scott, J. (1989). Generations and collective memories. *American Sociological Review*, 54, 3, 359 – 381.

Article research finds that different cohorts recall different events or changes when asked to report national or world events or changes over the past 50 years, and that these memories come especially from adolescence and early childhood.

Scribner, B. (1994). Practical utopias: Pre-modern communism and the reformation. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 36, 4, 743 – 774.

Article offers several facts about the history of Jakob Hutter and the Hutterites.

Seidensticker, O.W. (1881-82). A colonial monastery. *The Century Magazine*, 23, 2, 208 – 223.

Article gives a tour of the Ephrata cloister and a history of the community's membership.

Sengers, E. (2004). 'Although we are Catholic, we are Dutch' – The transition of the Dutch Catholic Church from sect to church as an explanation for its growth and decline. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 43, 1, 129 – 139.

Article explains the development of the Dutch Catholic Church by using the sect-to-church theory, which has been developed by the rational choice theory of religion.

Showalter, M.S. (1988). "And we, the fathers of families....," a study of the householders of the Ephrata cloister. *Journal of the historical society of the Cocalico valley*, 13, 2 – 40.

Article examines the element of the Householder group as it related to the Ephrata cloister community, an aspect of the community that is often neglected in other historical analyses.

Sill, J.S. (1988). The impossible dreams: Tensions in the utopian ideal. *Free Inquiry in Creative Sociology*, 16, 1, 15 – 22.

Article looks at four utopian groups (Shakers, Harmonists, Amana, and Oneida) and value conflicts, and how those value conflicts may have lead to the disillusionment of the aforementioned communities.

Simmel, G. (1971). *On Individuality and Social Forms*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Chapter 10, *The Stranger* (1918), reveals the distance of the stranger, who is socially distinct, objectified based upon his or her origins, to the group.

Skocpol, T. (1979). *State sand social revolutions: A comparative analysis of France, Russia, and China*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Book stresses the importance of the comparative historical method, as opposed to a natural history method.

Smith, T.L. (1968). Congregation, state, and denomination: The forming of the American religious structure. *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 25, 2, 155 – 176.

Article shows how denominations emerged out of the needs of congregations in a society, where mobility even more than diversity made voluntary association the rule of religious life.

Stark, R. (1999). Secularization, R.I.P. *Sociology of Religion*, 60, 3, 249 – 273.

Article states that the myth of the bygone “Age of Faith” in Europe, claiming that lack of religious participation was, if anything, even more widespread in medieval times than now.

State Medicaid; Montana’s Hutterite colony in court over Medicaid coverage (2005, March 26). *Obesity, Fitness & Wellness Week*, 1306.

Current event article about the fight of 7 Hutterite women in Montana for Medicaid coverage.

Vandermeer, P.R. (1981). Religion, society, and politics: A classification of American religious groups. *Social Science History*, 5, 1, 3 – 24.

The author is attempting to construct a more detailed classification typology for Christian churches and sects, based on and building upon the pietist-liturgical typology.

Wasao, S.W., Donnermeyer, J.F. (1996). An analysis of factors related to parity among the Amish in northeast Ohio. *Population Studies*, 50, 2, 235 – 246.

This study aims to examine how family size, or parity as a measure of fertility is related to farm and non-farm status of husbands, the church affiliation (conservative to liberal) of the couple, and whether or not husbands are in leadership positions within their church districts.

Waters, T. (1995). Towards a theory of ethnic identity and migration: The formation of ethnic enclaves by migrant Germans in Russia and North America. *International Migration Review*, 29, 2, 515 – 544.

Article is a comparative study of different ethnic German groups in the United States

Weaver-Zercher, D. (1999). Putting the Amish to work: Mennonites and the Amish culture market, 1950 – 1975. *Church History*, 68, 1, 87 – 117.

The purpose of this article is to examine how Mennonites have capitalized on the Amish (as in, books, tourist industry, etc.) in the “third quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (1950 – 1975).

Whitney, N.J. (1966). *Experiments in community: Ephrata, the Amish, the Doukhobors, the Shakers, the Bruderhof, and Monteverde*. Wallingford, Pa.: Pendle Hill.

Book studies several communities: The Ephrata, the Amish, the Doukhobors, the Shakers, the Bruderhof, and Monteverde.

Wickham-Crowley, T.P. (1992). *Guerrillas and revolution in Latin America: A comparative study of insurgents and regimes since 1956*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Book provides information on the comparative historical method, the method of agreement, and the indirect method of difference.

Wilson, B.R. (1959). An analysis of sect development. *American Sociological Review*, 24, 1, 3 – 15.

Article identifies four classifications of sects: conversionist, adventist, introversionist (Amana), and Gnostic.

Wilson, J., Sherkat, D.E. (1994). Returning to the fold. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 33, 2, 148 – 161.

Article asks, since not all teenagers rebel against their parents, or at least not to the same degree, what can sociology tell us about who is most likely to do so? And if rebellion does occur, what are the odds that rebellion will end with a return to parental teaching and values, and what life-course events are most likely to bring this about? Uses data from the Youth-Parent Socialization Panel Study to test several hypotheses concerning religious disaffiliation and re-affiliation.

Winseman, A.L. (2002). Religion and values. *The Gallup Poll Tuesday Briefing*, October, 104 – 105.

Why are evangelical Protestant congregations growing and mainline Protestant congregations declining? Gallup research into the nature and role of engagement within congregations strongly suggests that it has very little to do with theology or doctrine, but has a great deal to do with the engagement level of congregation members.

Wittberg, P. (2000). Called to service: The changing institutional identities of American denominations. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 29, 3, 357 – 376.

Article outlines the ways that religious schools, hospitals, and social service institutions have affected their sponsoring denomination or church group in the past.

Wittmer, J. (1970). Homogeneity of personality characteristics: A comparison between Old Order Amish and non-Amish. *American Anthropologist*, 72, 5, 1063 – 1068.

The findings indicate that the aspect of personality similarity was significantly greater for the Amish group on 9 of 16 measures of personality. The Amish parents spend considerable time in shaping their children's thinking and actions so that they correspond with the 'right way' of the Amish culture.

Wunthnow, R. (2002). Religious involvement and status-bridging social capital. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 41, 4, 669 – 684.

Article examines whether there is any empirical basis for thinking that religious involvement is associated with having influential friends and acquaintances. The main conclusion to be drawn from the results is that membership in a religious congregation is generally associated quite strongly and positively with status-bridging social capital, as measure by questions about having friends who represent various kinds of elite power or influence.

## Biography

Joanna Steinman was born on June 8, 1981, in Coatesville, PA to Robert Joseph Steinman, Jr. and Joanna Feller Steinman. Joanna was raised in Downingtown, PA, and graduated from Downingtown Senior High School in 1999. She attended the University of Pittsburgh, where she completed her BA (cum laude, 2003) with a double major in Anthropology and Japanese, a minor in German, and an Asian Studies Certificate. She then attended graduate school at Lehigh University, and will graduate with a Masters in Sociology in May of 2005. She has one brother, Robert, who is presently a freshman at Indiana University of Pennsylvania. On May 29, 2005, Joanna will wed her fiancé, Thomas Maatta of Greensburg, Pennsylvania.